The German Tribune

Hamburg, 11 June 1989
Twenty-eighth year - No. 1373 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858
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Nato emerges from the fray with maturity and flexibility

President Bush's speech in Mainz, after the Nato summit in Brussels, was a high-quality address partly intended to *soothe* German-American relations.

They needed soothing after the Brussels missile compromise. The missile modernisation dispute opened up wounds in both Washington and Bonn that will take time to heal.

For many Americans it was, in the final analysis, less a matter of the missiles themselves than of a much more far-reaching issue. How seriously did the Germans take Nato?

Worse still, were the Germans, who have historically been responsive to blandishments of this kind, in the process of succumbing to temptations from the East?

Not that any such suspicions were officially voiced. But influential US opinion, and not just zealots, sees what has

come to be known as Genscherism as an inclination to drop German ties with the West.

The suspicion that a kind of Gorbachov euphoria might have swept the Federal Republic was bound to be even more upsetting on the other side of the Atlantic for having arisen while a CDU/CSU-FDP coalition held power in Bonn.

In the days of SPD Chancellor Helmut Schmidt the Bonn government was felt to be absolutely unswerving in its loyalty to Nato.

The Brussels breakthrough, for which the way was paved by President Bush's surprise disarmament initiative, provided the President with an opportunity of appealing to German hearts.

He didn't just refer to ties of friendship that have flourished for over 40 years. He also said Bonn had a part to play as a partner in the North Atlantic pact.

Given the dispute that had just been resolved, that was a remarkable gesture — and a gesture that was unlikely to give rise to jubilation in either London or Paris.

Yet it resulted from the realisation that not even the most powerful country in the world can afford a long-term dispute with its foremost Continental Nato partner as long as it is keen to keep the North Atlantic pact alive and well.

President Bush was paying tribute to Richard von Weizsäcker's self-assured reminder that the Germans must not be regarded as suitable for use as a plaything in international affairs.

Herr von Weizsäcker's speech to mark the 40th anniversary of Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, was a cleat sign,



both at home and abroad, that the Federal Republic of Germany has come into its own as a democracy.

It is well aware of Germany's historic burden but has every intention of making its own way in the future. President Bush made it clear he views this trend sympathetically.

But Mr Reagan's successor linked this goodwill to a reminder of how it all began: with the readiness of the United States to assist in the reconstruction of war-torn Europe.

Post-war America lent the starving Germans in particular generous support and helped to smooth their way back into the community of civilised nations.

As years go by, memories of this initial state of affairs progressively pale. Memories of the post-war period when America appeared to be the Golden West, showering blessings from its cornucopia, stayed fresh until well into the 1960s.

Those were the days when the groundwork was laid for what is still hailed as German-American friendship. It began as a kind of father-child relationship, but now the Federal Republic can fend for itself, due to no small extent to US aid, the relationship is, as it were, one between two adults.

The child of yesteryear has succeeded in setting aside mere identification with Uncle Sam. It now feels able to go out on a limb and stand up for views of its own from time to time.

It naturally overdoes it on occasion. Public debate is spiked with fashionable anti-Americanism of a kind that irresponsibly overlooks the fundamental interests we share and the values we hold in common.

Transatlantic disputes never involve these fundamentals, however. They are invariably a matter of clashes of interest on which even friendly countries can differ from time to time.

The short-range missiles dispute may even be a salutary lesson for the Americans. It may have taught them that readiness to take up cudgels in a political dispute isn't treason, merely an expression of equal rights in a partnership. What makes democrats mature is the ability to weather a clash and level-headedly aim for a fair compromise. Brussels was a breakthrough in this respect too. Bonn risked a trial of strength, yet Nato managed to get it together. What is more, a Western challenge was agreed to rival the Eastern disarmament offer. Turbulence over the North Atlantic, far from paralysing Nato, led to a demonstration of Western solidarity. It was a demonstration we owe in equal measure to Bonn's urging and to Washington's pragmatism. Fresh conflicts are sure to arise sooner or later, but they no more need to weaken the Western alliance.

Joachim Worthmann
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 1 June 1989)



The stars of the show before the stripes: President Bush (left) with Chancellor Kohl in Mainz. (Photo: Mirko Krizanovic)

People's army kills the people: reverberations in Hong Kong

Shock and bewilderment have greeted the news from Peking. Does the bloodshed mean the violent end of the democracy movement after weeks of hope?

The rulers of today's largely reformed China were no longer credited with being capable of sending the troops in to massacre innocent people, students, children, women and old men.

The Chinese rulers have now put themselves almost on a par with Pol Pot in Cambodia and the Indonesian army in the mid-1960s, with their appalling violence — even if the scale of the violence in Peking was much smaller.

Deng Xiaoping is clearly to blame. Did he not hint at the end of April that it mightn't be so bad if blood were shed in crushing the student unrest? The very idea is appalling.

Deng, 84, has succeeded once more in persuading part of a divided army to teach their fellow-countrymen a dreadful "lesson."

He and his willing helper Li Peng are already being condemned as criminals by members of the Chinese Communist Party.

The effect on China and the world of the Chinese rulers' decision to send in the troops to restore order in Peking cannot be foreseen. Deng's much-vaunt-

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■ INTERNATIONAL

The Nato theatre: applause as curtain falls on a dramatic production

The play is over, the curtain has fallen, the applause has been heartfelt. The cast are holding hands and taking their bow before the audience.

They include the no-longer-so-young *hero from Bonn, the cause of unrest for* having called for new thinking.

Then there is the strict British governess, who insisted on decorum and good manners, and the uncle from overseas who took the two squabblers by the hand and reconciled them at the last minute.

Last but not least, there is the trusty major-domo, Nato secretary-general Manfred Wörner, all smiles at the happy end.

The no-longer-young hero is Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany and the guarantor of his party the FDP's political survival.

Early in 1987, when the INF Treaty scrapping US and Soviet medium-range missiles was already on the horizon and Bonn's Nato allies were pressing for the introduction of new short-range nuclear missiles, he played for time.

An overall concept on arms control and disarmament must be drawn up and approved before a decision could be reached on missile modernisation, he argued.

The West must be prepared to negotiate with the East on this, as on other issues. Besides, total elimination of short-range missiles must not be ruled out.

Keeping options open was Herr Genscher's keyword. Whenever hard-pressed Nato officials in Brussels applied to Bonn for instructions on drawing up the celebrated overall concept they drew a blank.

The Federal Republic's foremost allies grew increasingly suspicious — and these were suspicions not even Chancellor Kohl could dispel — that the West Germans might no longer be fully behind Nato's nuclear deterrent strategy.

The strict British governess was Margaret Thatcher of No. 10, Downing Street. Like Herr Genscher, she too was pressing for changes, but for changes of her own.

He was for keeping options open, she for committing the North Atlantic alliance to a firm policy.

Now that East-West ties were on the move it was particularly important for the West to stick to its tried and trusted strategy, she lectured her allies at all Nato gatherings, trying to keep the Federal Republic on a shorter rein.

The old Nato decision to introduce new short-range missiles must be observed to the letter. Negotiations must on no account be held.

Mrs Thatcher had endorsed the first zero solution — on the elimination of land-based missiles with a range of between 1,000 and 5,000 kilometres.

She had endorsed the second zero solution — on scrapping land-based missiles with a range of between 500 and 1,000 kilometres.

But a third zero solution, scrapping short-range missiles, was anathema.

Many are the surmises on why Mrs Thatcher is so insistent on this point. In Bonn some feel it is pique on a former world power's part at the role assumed by the upstart Federal Republic.

Britain's special role is limited nowadays to the nuclear sector, and this was an opportunity Mrs Thatcher was determined to use to the full.

The truth may be more straightforward. Mrs Thatcher prefers to lead with her chin. She has no patience with wets *on either side of the Channel.*

So she fearlessly takes up her cudgels and, no doubt, is keen to show her cousins on the other side of the Atlantic where Nato ought to be heading.

The good uncle is US President Bush, a man who might prefer, given his origins and experience, to err on the side of caution.

He certainly would not like to jeopardise the tried and trusted framework of Western security, especially at a time of sweeping changes.

Yet he, like most of his closest associates, belongs to a generation for whom America's leadership of the West is a matter of course.

The Brussels summit was planned as his first major appearance on the international stage, but the tiresome dispute between Bonn and Whitehall threatened to upset the apple cart.

President Bush's first response was in keeping with his reputation for pragmatism: he showed signs of coming round to the other side's view.

When Chancellor Kohl, hard hit by the drubbing the CDU had taken at the polls in Berlin, told him in February that Bonn could not possibly endorse for the time being the stationing of new short-range missiles in the Federal Republic, President Bush said he appreciated the problem.

In April Nato Defence Ministers reaffirmed that the Federal Republic was de facto entitled to veto the stationing of new missiles on its territory.

Shortly after this statement the President even agreed that in principle nego-



tiations might be held with the Soviet Union on scrapping short-range missiles.

But they could not be held until the Vienna talks on conventional arms reduction in Europe had arrived at tangible results.

Yet the Bonn government, which by now was strictly following the course set by Herr *Genscher, felt this was not enough.* The Brussels summit still risked coming to symbolise Atlantic strife, not Atlantic unity.

While Bonn and Whitehall were still busy raising the stakes with emphatic demands, President Bush conferred with his closest advisers in his holiday retreat 11 days before the Brussels deadline.

In strict seclusion they paved the way for a surprise move that was intended to demonstrate America's leadership and to take the edge off the missile dispute *that loomed so large over the Nato summit.*

They seem to have succeeded. President Bush has acknowledged the priority conventional disarmament deserves.

At the Vienna talks it had grown increasingly clear that the Soviet Union was keen to come to terms if only Nato would agree to consider reducing combat aircraft and helicopters too.

The President did so without further ado, so no further obstacles of an insuperable kind stand in the way of at least partial results in Vienna.

At the same time President Bush si*lenced, at least temporarily, domestic* critics who felt Nato's arms reduction proposals were too meagre given US budget constraints.

The US President even outdid Mr Gorbachov, proposing a reduction to a ceiling of 275,000 men each in Soviet troops stationed in Eastern Europe and US troops stationed in Western Europe.

This figure is roughly 75,000 lower than previous Soviet proposals. President Bush is prepared to reduce by about 20 per cent the numerical strength of US combat troops in Europe, which would amount to about 10 per cent of the total US military presence on this side of the Atlantic.

Above all, President Bush built Bonn and Whitehall an elegant bridge in connection with the thorny issue of whether and when negotiations might be held with the East on short-range missiles.

The Bonn government had called for negotiations soon, with a recent FDP party conference even declaring the need for missile talks to be urgent.

Mrs Thatcher in contrast would initially hear nothing of negotiations.

The holding of missile talks is now subject to progress at the conventional talks and to initial arms reduction measures being undertaken.

President Bush hopes the Vienna talks might achieve results in six to 12 months' time, leading to such disarmament moves as might be agreed being implemented in full by 1992 or so.

Yet it first seemed in Brussels as though neither male lead Genscher nor governess Thatcher was prepared to set foot on the bridge built by uncle Bush.

German delegates felt the go-ahead for missile talks was too vaguely timed, while British government spokesmen felt the Bonn government's undertaking not to aim at a third zero solution for the time being was too vague factually.

Many observers felt the summit was doomed to failure as a result of German stubbornness. Free Democrat Genscher, keen to win votes for his party, might well fancy the idea of returning home a hero, having manfully withstood both Mrs Thatcher's bullying and Mr Bush's urging.

Close associates of Mrs Thatcher's frankly said, with a glance in Bonn's direction: "There will probably be no agreement. Your government is weakening the alliance and our common defence. You don't even want to defend yourselves any longer."

In the early hours of 30 May, while Nato Foreign Ministers, chaired by Holland's astute Mr van den Broek, worked out what was to be the final compromise, it was still anyone's guess whether a formula would be agreed.

But when the British delegation rea*lised it might end up out on a limb it* eventually climbed down. At 7.20 a.m. on 30 May Mrs Thatcher finally approved the compromise.

Who had won, the ageing male lead or the governess? The Germans got what no-one could have refused them: a decision on the new short-range missiles is to be postponed until 1992.

They also took home an undertaking to hold talks with the East on these missiles, although the deadline will depend on how successful the Vienna talks are.

Provided the Russians play ball, negotiations might be held in a year or two.

And Whitehall? "Margaret Thatcher was a good loser," as one shrewd observer of the Brussels scene put it. She had lost so well that she was even able to pose to the Press as the true winner.

"We are entirely satisfied," she said. "We have arrived at a solution on short-range missiles, and there will be no third zero solution."

Mrs Thatcher, her eyes aglow, feels sure a great deal of water will flow down the Danube before the first stage of talks is completed in Vienna and a start can be made on conventional arms reduction.

Besides, any reduction agreed must first be painstakingly mon*itored before* talks on short-range missiles can be considered.

What is more, where *the* third zero solution is concerned, she stressed the passages in the overall concept which emphasised *that* only a partial reduction in short-range missiles can be considered (the word "partial" is underlined in the Nato document).

For the foreseeable future land-based missiles must continue to be based in Europe. Asked how the Germans felt about that, she said: "Read what it says here. They have signed the *document.* So that's that."

As for Uncle George, President Bush got off to an impressive start. It was clear from the unpretentious and good-humoured way in which he talked to the Press how happy he and his advisers were that the summit had been a success.

Once again America had arrived on the scene, like a *deus ex machina,* to extract Nato from its predicament.

So the Nato summit was a happy end — until next time. The contro*versial* issues may not have been solved once and for all, but the edge was taken off them. Above all, the crisis ended in Nato making appreciable headway.

The West no longer cuts a sterile, narrow-minded figure while East bloc suitors make one disarmament approach after another. That is arguably the ageing male lead's finest achievement.

"By means of its urging," says a long-standing Nato pundit, "the Federal Republic has helped readiness for change which was there under the surface everywhere, to make a breakthrough."

Nato has always thrived on crises and proved its worth in solving them. The applause for the Brussels cast was well-deserved.

For all its theatricals the Brussels summit was far from being the worst birthday present Nato could have been given to mark its 40th anniversary.

Christoph Bertram

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 2 June 1989)

The German Tribune

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 3-4 Hartwicusstrasse, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733.

Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.

Published weekly with the exception of the second week in January, the second week in April, the third week in September and the third week in November.

Advertising rates list No. 16
Annual subscription DM 45

Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln

Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc., 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011. Postmaster: send change of address to The German Tribune % MASS MAILINGS.

Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

■ SECURITY POLICY

And now on to the hard slog in Vienna

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The Nato 23 negotiators of the Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Pact in Vienna now face the difficult task of translating into action the proposals President Bush made at the Nato summit.

It is hoped that this will lead to conventional stability in Europe within a year during an initial phase.

The comparison of the varying orders of magnitude and qualitative categories of arms and combat forces will show whether the Nato summit resolution can in fact change the European landscape and bring about security at a lower level in the near future.

It also remains to be seen whether the Soviet Union and its partners are willing to make asymmetrical cuts in their land and airborne forces which, as expected by Bush and the Nato alliance, are much greater than the western and American cuts.

Before the announcement of the Bush initiative the Vienna conventional stability talks were just about to begin work in earnest.

The West submitted its proposals, which only related to the three arms categories with direct invasion capacity — tanks, armoured personnel-carriers and artillery, at the beginning of March.

The Soviet Union announced its proposals more recently, although they still have to be supplemented to take into consideration the "sub-ceilings" regarded as so important by the West.

The optimism of the leading Nato delegates in Vienna is mainly due to the fact that *the Soviet figures for the three arms* categories come pretty close to the West's own figures.

At the same time, however, it was clear that work on the details is only just beginning and that exact definitions of the arms categories, especially in the case of tanks, as well as binding enumeration and verification criteria need to be developed.

The Bush proposal, which has been highly praised by Nato, extends the negotiation framework in Vienna. It now includes combat aircraft and helicopters as *well* as troop levels.

The *idea* is *that* the Soviet Union reduce the number of its troops outside Soviet territory by 325,000 and that the level of American combat troops in Western Europe should be reduced by 20 per cent, roughly 30,000 men.

This would leave a ceiling of 275,000 men respectively stationed in countries outside of respective national territories.

The Soviet Union should scrap thousands of its combat aircraft between the Urals and the Elbe in order to reach a level 15 per cent beneath the Nato total (Nato works on the assumption of roughly 8,000 combat aircraft — excluding training aircraft).

The American and allied air forces in Western Europe (excluding the F-111 long-range bombers stationed in England and the French "Mirage 2000") would have to scrap about 750 aircraft.

This presupposes greater Soviet compromise in the question of category definitions.

In its demands in this field the Warsaw Pact has so far always referred to "strike aircraft", in which the Nato has a lead, and ignores the category of the fighter-interceptors of the Soviet home defence.

Nato estimates that the Soviets have 7,000 technologically sophisticated aircraft in this category, which can be equipped with both conventional and nuclear weapons.

Whereas Moscow must revise its position on "strike aircraft" Nato will have to apply different enumeration criteria for helicopters.

Here too, Bush wants to move down to a level 15 per cent beneath the current Nato ceiling. The question is: in what categories?

The Nato claims that it has 2,419 helicopters, whereas the Warsaw Pact insists that Nato has 5,270 helicopters — including those belonging to the American fleet.

Nato puts the total number of Warsaw Pact helicopters at 3,700, the Warsaw Pact itself claims to have only 2,785.

How will Gorbachov react to Bush's troop reduction proposal?

In his speech to the United Nations in New York Gorbachov announced unilateral troop reductions totalling 500,000 men by 1991.

In Vienna the Soviet Union supplemented this plan by adding its proposal for a national ceiling for troops to the Urals of 920,000 men, which would mean a demobilisation of 1.3 million soldiers.

Moscow would like to see both alliances move from the current level of two million men respectively in the negotiat*ing area (which, just like the weapons,* is split up into zones, with the Soviets leaving more troops in the alliance member states than Nato) to a respective figure of 1.35 million.

The proposal forwarded by President Bush only refers to American troops, not to those of other Nato partners, which the Soviets on the other hand include in their calculations.

If things stay that way the President's proposal is far below the demands for a reduction of one million men, which, according to the Warsaw Pact, Nato would *have to effect.*

Furthermore, the Bush proposal means that, during the initial phase of the realisation of a conventional stability agreement, the Warsaw Pact would have to scrap roughly 10,000 tanks within two years.

The West, therefore, no longer reacts to Gorbachov's proposals, but invites the Soviet leader, whose country is faced by serious economic problems and a need to reduce its excessive armament level, to react himself.

It will soon become clear in Vienna whether the political initiative developed by Bush will lead to concrete results.

The elation of the Brussels summit will be followed by the more mundane slog of negotiations.

Nato's "High Level Task Force" sees its scope of supervision over the Vienna negotiations extended.

Things are not going to be any easier. It is not clear whether the momentum which achieved the double zero solution for medium-range missiles can have the same kind of success in the much more complicated field of conventional arms.

To meet the schedule targeted by Bush the arms control negotiations would have to make headway at a hitherto unknown pace.

The exact moment when, according to the Brussels agreement, negotiations can be held on short-range missiles remains uncertain.

Jan Reifenberg

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 June 1989)

Role of the German Question in East-West relations

Paul Frank, state secretary in the Bonn Foreign Office at the beginning of the 70s, was one of the outstanding architects of the SPD-FDP coalition government's Ostpolitik.

He once claimed that this phase of German foreign policy was no more than a brief interlude because the "realists will try to do things better."

In the same breath, he recalled another "conspicuous" era of German post-war diplomacy, although the war in question this time was the First World War.

Efforts were made in Rapallo to seek conciliation with the Soviet Union. The Weimar diplomacy, however, was obliged to drop the idea.

If statements made by German politicians during recent years and months are anything to go by seeking conciliation with Moscow has remained the declared *objective of Bonn's foreign policy.*

Rapallo, however, repeatedly crops up as a spectre on the German foreign policy horizon — generally sighted by Bonn's western allies.

For fear of giving the impression of waning western integration Bonn has been tentative and undecided in its relations towards Moscow since the signing of the Moscow treaty in August 1970.

This just about passed as long as the gerontocracy in the Kremlin during and immediately after the Brezhnev era was in power.

Ever since Gorbachov appeared on the scene, Bonn's unimaginative Ostpolitik has been in danger of playing second fiddle to the approaches made to Moscow by many of Bonn's western allies.

There are only occasional signs of the "new thinking" even Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker feels is missing in Bonn; Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher is one of the exceptions.

Gorbachov's visit to the Federal Republic will show much work has to be done.

Hans Kroll, Bonn's ambassador in Moscow back in the days of Khrushchov, once remarked that "treaties are like children. If you want something reasonable to become of them you have to look after them and care for them."

There has been a lack of attention since the Moscow treaty was signed.

Frank's displeasure at the "realists" implies that just ticking off the projects listed in treaties is not enough.

If treaties are to serve as the supporting cornerstones of a stable network of relations it cannot suffice to celebrate their signing as a success and imagining that the political work has thus been completed.

German-Soviet relations on the eve of Gorbachov's visit to Germany find themselves in this situation.

Many treaties and agreements, all of which are designed to promote the exchange of people and ideas, are scheduled to be signed during the visit.

Only two agreements, dealing with the organisation of maritime and inland shipping, are marked by the uncertainty of whether an acceptable Berlin clause can be found.

What appears to be a stumbling-block of marginal significance, however, indicates the sensitive character of German-Soviet relations.

The repeated search for formulations able to do justice to the Berlin interests of both countries reflects the basic problem confronting the German-Soviet relationship: the unresolved question of what, sooner or later, is to happen to the two German states.

In the Federal Republic of Germany there is a stereotyped reference to the "reunification" perspective, marked by a Europe clause.

The new situation in Moscow has revived this discussion. A growing number of people in Germany are looking expectantly to Moscow in the hope that Gorbachov's political concept will include a plan at the end of which there is a possible German reunification.

Bonn's official policy has not been able to completely evade the pressure of such expectations.

During his visit to Moscow in autumn last year Chancellor Kohl also raised the German Question. He was sure of the support of conservative circles back home.

There is plenty of speculation in Bonn government circles about whether the Soviet leader will confront his host with "limbering-up exercises" in the field of Deutschlandpolitik when he visits Germany.

Even Kohl's adviser, Horst Teltschik, toys with such speculations, even though he does not expect "spectacular offers" in the near future.

Anyone who talks to Soviet experts on Germany inside and outside of the Kremlin senses that this question is being considered in Moscow. A clear concept, however, is not in sight.

Günter Gaus characterises the ideas circulating in Moscow as a kind of "fruitful perplexity."

This atmosphere would inevitably be dampened or set back if the Germans start to impatiently shuffle their feet the way Bonn's western partners already fear.

As the Soviet Union is not blind to what is happening within its own sphere of influence and does not prevent the Hungarians and Poles from engaging in democratic finger exercises it apparently views its security policy situation at the end of the Eighties with much more composure than in the past.

This at any rate is the opinion held in government circles in Bonn. If this analysis is correct such a development would bound to affect East-West relations as a whole.

If it is true that the East-West conflict is connected to a substantial degree with the German Question it will hardly be

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ed reforms are shaken to the foundations. The victors of the moment face worldwide contempt and mistrust. Can any Western businessman now invest without misgivings in China?

Deng's political reunification model on the basis of "one country, two systems" for Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan has been hard hit. Who would want to live under the terror of such a repressive regime?

Since the 1970s China has been handled with kid gloves by the West, especially by the United States. Breaches of human rights in China were criticised in a whisper. That is now over.

Even for the Soviet Union the bloodshed in China may turn out to have a signal effect. Additional uncertainty about Soviet reforms might gain ground.

"When China rises, the world will shake," Napoleon said. Is this still true?

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 5 June 1989)

■ INTERVIEW

Continuity means predictable policies, says Foreign Minister Genscher

Fifteen years ago, on 17 May 1974, Free Democrat Hans-Dietrich Genscher took over as Foreign Minister under SPD Chancellor Helmut Schmidt after five years at the helm of the Interior Ministry. Herr Genscher is the longest-serving member of the Bonn government and the longest-serving Foreign Minister in the world. He was out of office for a fortnight when the FDP resigned from Chancellor Schmidt's government in September 1982 but returned on 1 October when the Free Democrats threw in their lot with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the Christian Democrats. He is here interviewed for the Bonn daily *General-Anzeiger* by Wolf J. Bell shortly before the Nato summit.

Question: Continuity, Minister, has been the guiding principle of German foreign policy in your 15 years in office. But what does continuity mean today, given the swift pace of major changes? Do they warrant a reappraisal and re-evaluation of our foreign policy cornerstones?

Answer: Continuity means pursuing straight-lined, predictable policies. They must stay attuned to changing circumstances, but there is no change in our foreign policy essentials.

They are our geographical situation in the heart of Europe, our history, our value *judgement in favour of freedom and human dignity*, our membership — as a Western-style democracy — of the European Community and Nato, and our close *ties with France and the United States.*

We are also bound by our constitutional commitments. They are why we decided in favour of the West and of freedom and democracy and why we also feel bound to help keep the peace in Europe, including a German contribution toward bridging the gap between East and West.

Our history has never belonged to us alone, and it never will. So German foreign policy must always form part of European peace policy. Any attempt to "de-Europeanise" it would take us into a national maze and down a blind alley.

Q: The Federal Republic has never allowed the slightest doubt to be cast on its ties with the West. How do you account for the fact that Nato, having pursued the policies that brought about all the changes, has now, so shortly before achieving its objective, been plunged into such a crisis of confidence? What has gone wrong?

A: There hasn't been a crisis of confidence in the Atlantic alliance. We will see that the Nato summit in Brussels does more than look back on 40 years of peace and freedom in this part of Europe.

Its real task is to develop the pact's political strategy toward the East. Measured by this yardstick it was entirely out of proportion to make a decision on a single weapon system, short-range missiles, out to be the crux of Nato's 40th anniversary summit.

Q: Do you, then, feel there is no threat to Ostpolitik from the West on the eve of Mr Gorbachov's visit to Bonn?

A: Yes, I do. All Western countries, including the United States, can be said to be interested in putting to good use the opportunities of improving relations presented by reform trends in the Soviet Union.

Washington has major moves in mind to promote reforms in Poland, and President Bush has reaffirmed that the United States is appreciative of progress made so far in the Soviet Union and keen to see further progress achieved.

Views thus run parallel, which is bound to find expression in our joint political strategy.

The fundamental question to be asked in connection with our attitude toward re*cent developments in the East* is, inevitably: are they in our interest?

Yes or no? I say they are, and it follows that everything must be done to enter con*structively into the spirit of these develop*ments.

Q: Will Mr Gorbachov's visit not heighten suspicions harboured by a number of our partners in the West that we are heading back toward Rapallo as we come to terms with the East?

A: These suspicions cannot arise because the Federal Republic is, alongside France, one of the mainstays of the Euro*pean Community.*

In calling not only for a common internal market but for a monetary union and a common central bank system, in calling for all member-countries to clearly endorse European Union as their objective, we can but hope that the other 11 will unreservedly agree.

We will definitely not be found wanting when it comes to putting these ideas into practice, and that must surely show where we stand and where we feel our political groundwork lies.

Yet it doesn't mean we must turn our backs on the East and behave as though Europe ends at the intra-German border.

Q: The accusation that Bonn's Ostpolitik is guided mainly by considerations of economic interest in the Eastern European market also plays a part in the present debate...

A: That is an accusation which is both foolish and indicative of a lack of competence on the subject. We are all in favour of our partners aiming at economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. We have no ambition of establishing a monopoly in this sector.

Yet we do feel that economic cooperation has a political dimension and tends to promote interest in political cooperation.

We don't want to destabilise the Warsaw Pact states either politically or economically. Indeed, we feel a solution to their economic problems is in our interest too,



given that it will boost their ability to continue with the process of opening up to the West.

And let no-one underestimate the fact that we Germans feel a sense of responsibility for peace all over Europe. We may be part of the West, but that doesn't alter the fact that nations live to our east who suffered dreadfully during the Second World War, which Hitler started 50 years ago.

They are entitled to expect us to stay on good terms and maintain cordial relations with them.

Q: Some Western commentators suggest that the Germans have covert ambitions to abandon their ties with the West for the vague aim of reunification. What part do the two German states have to play in all-European developments?

A: By the terms of the 1972 Basic Treaty the two German states have undertaken obligations best described as a "community of responsibility."

They have since numbered among those actively engaged in promoting the process of balance and cooperation between East and West. That, then, is their role.

It must not be forgotten that there have been times when relations between the two *German states were a handicap to East-*West ties. They are now one of their assets.

Q: You frequently refer, nowadays, to times having changed. What is the basis of this change and what part has Bonn's foreign policy played in bringing it about?

A: Our foreign policy have exercised a decisive influence on such promising progress having been made in Europe. Take, for one, the European Community's decision to set a deadline for the single internal market. This decision has triggered a dynamic process that is one of the most significant developments in international affairs and is seen and appreciated to be that by outsiders.

The example set by the European Community is exerting a constantly growing attraction, especially for the socialist states.

On the other hand we are experiencing the reform trend in the Soviet Union and in other socialist states — a different dynamic development that will lead to greater readiness for East-West cooperation.

These are dynamic processes that are not dividing Europe; they are bringing it closer together. That is how times are changing politically.

They are changes that require a high degree of statesmanship on the part of all concerned to use the opportunities of a better future for our long-suffering continent.

In coming to terms with East bloc states in the late 1960s and early 1970s Bonn paved the way for this process. It was also instrumental in bringing about the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, the benefits of which we spent so long waiting for.

But we can now bring in the harvest as the Helsinki accords have increasingly been implemented in the wake of changes in Eastern Europe and the dramatic headway made at the CSCE conference in Vienna.

Q: The leading role Bonn has played in East-West ties is particularly apparent in the CSCE process, as it is in European disarmament policy.

Do you share the expectation of your Soviet counterpart, Mr Shevardnadze, that specific results might be achieved in a year or two at the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe?

A: I share this expectation now the Soviet Union, in its latest proposals, has largely agreed with the West not only conceptually but, apart from a few problems of definition, on key data for the limitation of tanks, armoured infantry vehicles and field guns.

This is another of the great successes of German foreign policy, pursued jointly with France. It is why we are now in so promising a position at the talks on conventional stability from the Atlantic to the Urals and thus on the fundamental issue of European security.

Q: You have called the CSCE *process* a central instrument of East-West policy and a step in the direction of a European peace order. Has it not long basically served in effect as a peace order?

A: It most definitely has, but the peace order cannot be based solely on an improvement in relations between states.

Its foundations must also include developments in the situation within countries,



Foreign Minister for 15 years... Hans-Dietrich Genscher. (Photo: Poly-Press)

in other words and in particular the implementation of human rights. A peace order deserving of the name can only be established on the basis of human rights.

In cooperation, in dialogue, in the domestic restructuring of the socialist states, in agreements on disarmament — each successive step helps to make the process irreversible.

And in this respect in particular there is much that we can do to help make sure of success.

Q: Is it not asking too much of Bonn to expect it to lead the field in this way? Ought our foreign policy not to try harder to promote understanding and generate support within the Western alliance?

A: Franco-German unity, crucially important, works. It works both in Nato and in the European Community.

Given the close cooperation between the superpowers in the final phase of the Reagan administration and President Bush's recent speeches, it would hardly be right to refer to Bonn's role as having been that of a vanguard in the alliance.

We have undeniably urged others to press ahead, but that is in keeping with our responsibility to preserve the peace in Europe and with our position as a divided nation in the heart of Europe.

Q: What conclusions must the European Community now reach in respect of other Europeans — of Efta and the Comecon states?

Must it not, economic considerations apart, keep its political options open? Can it stick without reservations to the concept of European Union?

A: European Union cannot just, it must be consistently implemented. But it must be open to democratic states that fulfil the requirements and want to join, with all the rights and obligations membership entails.

And it must stay cooperative toward those who opt for cooperation. It must show a high degree of readiness to cooperate with the Efta countries which are nearest to us — and not just geographically.

It must also be ready for increasingly close cooperation with the Comecon states, the degree of cooperation being subjected to the progress of reform in individual Comecon countries.

Q: So could the European Community one day be a home for all Europeans?

A: That is a question that extends far into the future, and the answer is not for the European Community to make. It is a decision each country much reach for itself. No-one must forget that the European Community is not just an economic combine but an association of states with perfectly harmonious value judgements, an association of free democracies.

Q: What about the organisation of Western European defence? Is progress

Continued on page 6

■ EUROPE 1992

Bangemann in vanguard of emerging group of free-market liberals

Free trade, says the European Commission's Martin Bangemann, is first and foremost an act of charity of the kind that begins at home: "It does us good, not the others."

This economic credo of the former FDP leader, Bonn Economic Affairs Minister and veteran Eurocrat is the guideline he intends to use at the European Commission in Brussels.

He plans to use Europe's gala industry, the motor trade, to demonstrate his point.

If the burly German Liberal has his way, the 17-member European Commission will make it clear that a fresh breeze *of international* competition is to invigorate the post-1992 European car market.

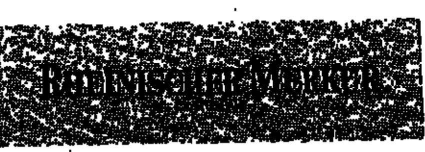
There must be not the slightest whiff of a "Fortress Europe."

A frank, easy-going and gregarious person with the gift of the gab, Herr Bangemann has had little difficulty in establishing cordial ties with his fellow-commissioners.

Yet even he admits that the wide-ranging coalition he has lined up in connection with the motor industry is a stroke of good luck.

It could easily fray at the edges where other industries — telecom, for instance, — are concerned.

Herr Bangemann's staunch allies in *Brussels are Britain's Leon Brittan, in* charge of competition policy, and Holland's Frans Andriessen, in charge of the





Community's external relations. Where the motor industry is concerned these three can count on the backing of a number of fellow-commissioners from smaller member-countries where imports of Japanese cars are unrestricted.

Even Britain's Bruce Millan, a Scottish Labour politician, backs the Bangemann initiative. Japanese car factories have brought Scotland badly needed jobs.

European carmakers turned out 12.3 million cars last year, putting Japan, with 8.2 million, and the United States, with 7.1 million, firmly in second and third place.

The European motor industry has notched up respectable growth rates of over five per cent a year for the past four years.

Yet its competitive position in relation to Japanese carmakers and, in some sectors, even to their American counterparts, is none too promising.

For years its share of markets in what the European Community calls third countries, i.e. countries that are not members of the European Community, has been on the decline for years.

Last year exports were 12.5 per cent down to 1.6 million cars, as against Japanese exports virtually unchanged at 4.4 million units.

Productivity is Europe's main problem. Japanese car workers take only 19 hours to make a car. US auto workers take 26 hours and European car workers 36 hours to do so.

Even worse, 44 per cent of the cars that roll off Japanese assembly lines need repairing before they are sold. The corresponding figures in the United States and Western Europe are 87 and 90 per cent.

The Japanese are front runners in investment and financing too. On average they recoup 2.2 times their investment in annual cash flow. The leading European carmakers, Volkswagen, Fiat and Peugeot, can only claim to recoup 1.3 times their investment in cash flow.

Besides, the Japanese are now investing 60 per cent of their overall cash input in research and development. In Europe, Herr Bangemann says, only specialists such as Daimler-Benz can hold their own with this figure.

Five member-countries of the European Community (Britain, France, Italy, Portugal and Spain) more or less strictly limit imports of Japanese cars.

Yet the Japanese still account for a 9.3-per-cent share of car sales in the European Community, whereas European carmakers account for a paltry three per *cent of cars sold in Japan.*

The market share to which Toyota, Nissan, Honda & Co. can lay claim in European Community countries ranges from 0.3 per cent in Spain to over 40 per cent in Greece and Ireland.

A trio of up-market German brands, Audi, BMW and Mercedes, make up the lion's share of European car sales in Japan. Between them they accounted for 2.4 per cent of the Japanese market last year.

A pint-sized manufacturer such as Porsche sold more cars in Japan last year than the French mass manufacturer Peugeot. The figures were 2,434 Porsches to 2,364 Peugeots.

Yet the fact of the matter remains that only one European car was sold in Japan for every 17 Japanese cars sold in Western Europe.

This state of affairs cannot go on, the French, Italian and Spanish Industry Ministers agreed at a European Community gathering in Spain.

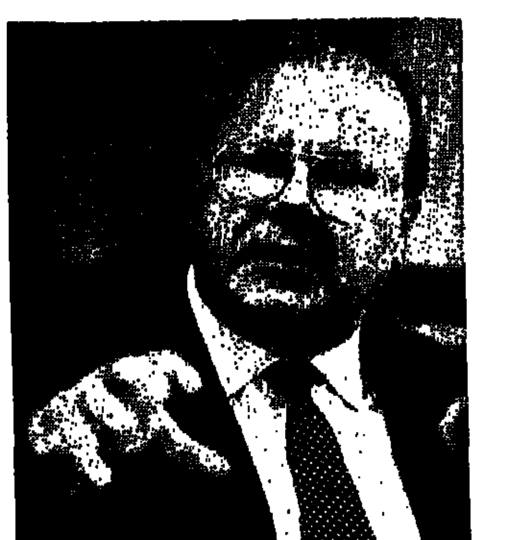
At present they all impose strict quotas on imports of Japanese cars: 2,000 in Spain's case, 2,550 plus 14,000 imported via *other European Community* countries in Italy's case and three per cent of the French market.

If they are to waive these restrictions, they agreed, they would soonest see Japan agree in return to guarantee imports of a certain number of European cars.

They would also like to make "local content" provisions strictly binding on the growing number of Japanese car factories in Europe.

The French, for instance, feel the Nissans and Toyotas made in Britain must consist of at least 80 per cent European-*made parts and 80 per cent European* labour before they can be freely traded in the European internal market.

Herr Bangemann would like to see an entirely different approach to the shortcomings of European carmakers. He wants to gradually phase out national import quotas for Japanese cars, starting next year with 1993 as the cut-off deadline.



Will he have to water down his wine?.. free-trader Bangemann. (Photo: Werek)

Cosseted European carmakers will then be allowed a further three-year transitional period, if he has his way. In this period Japanese carmakers will be requested to exercise self-restraint in exports to Europe along lines similar to their self-restraint in exports to the United States.

Once this three-year transitional period is over, the European car market will be totally deregulated, with no discrimination or special requirements in respect of investment either.

Mr Brittan plans to keep an eye on over-eager regional authorities. They are to be prevented from ladling out subsidies so generously that one carmaker after another sets up a new factory in the European Community, leading to serious overcapacity.

Three guidelines have yet to be approved before the single internal market is a fact where European cars are concerned. They involve technical harmonisation of windscreens, tyres and weights and measures.

France has blocked agreement on these guidelines since 1976.

In this way the French have successfully stymied agreement on uniform licensing arrangements for new models that would have enabled Japanese cars to circulate freely within the Community and knock the French import restrictions into a cocked hat.

The French still have this ploy at their disposal to savage Herr Bangemann's fine idea of throwing markets wide open, on which the European Commission can arrive at a decision, being in charge of Community trade policy.

Yet the Commission still needs the approval by the Council of Ministers of the three shelved guidelines if it is to put free trade into effect.

Otherwise member-countries that still have a penchant for protectionism would continue to be able to resort to administrative subterfuges by which to keep Japanese cars out.

Herr Bangemann plans to present new versions of the three guidelines by the end of the year.

The Council of Ministers will then have to arrive at a decision on them. A qualified majority is needed to give them the go-ahead. What this means in effect is that two large member-countries and one small one can jointly veto a majority.

It will be interesting to see how much the European Commission's free trade trio will need to water down their wine to ensure the support of a sufficient number of *member-governments.*

A decision by the European Commission alone, no matter how soon it is reached and how final it may sound, cannot entirely lay the ghost of a "Fortress Europe" for the motor industry.

Petra Münster

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 26 May 1989)

■ THE ECONOMY

An affluent society which rose from rubble of war

People in that part of Germany in the political west have a standard of living higher than any German society has ever had. Production is higher than ever before.

This is 44 years after the war, from the ruins of which Germany emerged like a phoenix from the ashes. Today it is, with Japan and the United States, one of the three leading industrial nations.

In 1948 the Swiss economist Wilhelm Röpke wrote: "Germany has been destroyed and turned into chaos the extent of which cannot be imagined by anybody who has not physically seen it."

A good three decades later, the Bonn Economics Minister of the time, Count Otto Lambsdorff, said: "A country which was shattered and starving has moved into the leading group of industrial nations, with a social-welfare network which is unparalleled in the world.

"All this was attained thanks ... above all, to an economic system which encouraged efficiency and rewarded achievement."

This was a reference to the social market economy, which together with the foundation of Germany created the decisive prerequisite for progress and prosperity 40 years ago.

Particularly since the 1960s, there has been an undreamt-of development of prosperity for society as a whole.

More and more households have been able to afford high-quality consumer durables, such as deep-freeze refrigerators, washing machines, dishwashers, telephones, television sets and stereo units.

Owning a car, very often two, going on holiday abroad, enjoying more leisure time and relaxation than ever before are (almost) taken for granted.

The statistics of the Federal Statistical Office in Wiesbaden show that the provision of the population with goods and services has increased more than fivefold in real terms between 1950 and 1988.

Due to the parallel increase in the population figure the increase in the standard of living has not been quite so high.

Nevertheless, per capita private consumption in real terms has more than quadrupled during the same period.

A comparison between the 10 major industrialised countries reveals that, allowing for respective inflation rates, the highest increase in wages and salaries has been in Germany.

German workers can claim this leading position even though nominal incomes have increased at a much lower rate than in most other countries.

This means that the cost of living in Germany has risen much more slowly than elsewhere.

Taking the real private consumption of goods and services as a point of reference, the standard of living has increased by an average of roughly four per cent per annum since the beginning of the 1950s.

Whereas the average gross monthly income per employee increased from DM243 to DM3,288 (1988) the net income increased during the same period, after tax and social security contributions, from DM213 to DM2,195.

Even allowing for inflation gross incomes, therefore, have more than quadrupled in real terms.

Rising income levels and growing prosperity led to a growing significance in private consumption of those goods and services which serve to satisfy what could be termed sophisticated needs.

In comparison to the total consumption figure, on the other hand, the significance of basic needs has generally declined.

A four-person middle-income household at the beginning of the 50s, for example, still had to spend over half of its total expenditure on food, beverages and tobacco.

Today, the expenditure share of this category of goods has fallen to just over a fifth of the household budget.

This development has been accompanied by a corresponding increase in expenditure on cars, holidays and leisure time, on more sophisticated household appliances, and on services, in particular those offered by banks and insurance companies.

Goods and services in the transport and communication category accounted for less than four per cent of the household budget back at the beginning of the 50s; in the second half of the 80s each household allocated almost a sixth of its budget to expenditures in this category.

Furthermore, the share of expenditures on rent, goods and services, education and entertainment, electricity, gas and fuels has also increased.

The Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft in Cologne calculated that the hourly income of an industrial worker in the Federal Republic of Germany increased from DM2.32 in 1958 to DM18.43 last year; this represents an almost eightfold increase.

As the level of consumer prices almost tripled during the same period the purchasing power of this hourly income has increased threefold over the past thirty years.

Much more working time was needed to buy food back in 1958; a fifth less working time is needed today, for example, to buy butter and eggs.

In the field of durable consumer goods a refrigerator — nowadays much more technologically sophisticated — is only slightly more expensive today than in 1958: instead of 212 working hours this household appliance only costs just over 30 working hours today.

Thirty years ago an industrial worker had to work over 54 hours to buy a lounge suit; today only half of this working time is needed to buy the same product.

In terms of working hours services have also become much less expensive.

Hairdressing services, such as washing and setting hair, only "cost" just under one hour today instead of one-and-a-half hours thirty years ago.

The introduction of the market economy system forty years ago gave the economy an unforeseen impetus and gave consumers and workers the greatest prosperity ever experienced in Germany.

The internationally leading position of the Germans is reason enough to appraise this development and its underlying conditions.

Lothar Julitz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 31 May 1989)

What German families possess

In %

Item	%
Telephone	93
Colour TV	87
Washing machine	86
Refrig.	78
Camera	77
Bicyle	71
Deep freeze	70
Car	68
Elec. sew. machine	53
Stereo	42
Cassette rec.	37
Dish washer	29
Griller	27
Video	26
Drier	17
Ironing machine	14
Microwave oven	12
CD-Player	6

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here not urgently needed so as to be able to react flexibly yet without forfeiting security to disarmament terms?

A: In my view the European democracies need a common defence identity too. They can only find it in the Western European Union, which is why we and France have revamped the WEU.

A revitalised WEU will not only strengthen the alliance as a whole; it will also facilitate the process by which it arrives at decisions, which is essential at a time of great political dynamism when a wealth of ideas and swift reactions are called for.

In setting up their joint security and defence council France and the Federal Republic of Germany set an example, as they have done in connection with all new processes in Europe.

Q: What risks does the current domestic instability pose for foreign policy and its ability to act at this crucial juncture?

A: I wouldn't refer to risks, but the Federal government's foreign policy needs to be fully endorsed by all coalition parties.

And it is in the German interest for it to be supported by as wide-ranging a consensus as possible, over and above the coalition ranks.

Q: Predictability is another keyword of your foreign policy. Does it hurt you now many people are calling it into question?

A: There is no commonsense context in which it *can* be called into question. It is more to its credit than to its detriment that it consistently and realistically pursues its basic outlines, that it has perspectives for and visions of the future and that it attempts to enlist the support of others for these future perspectives.

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 17 May 1989)

■ BUSINESS

Europeans fishing for more secure position on the world chip market

Erich Lejeune believes that when chips are being discussed people, including government, prefer to think of something else.

Lejeune, 45, is a broker and head of the largest company dealing in silicon chips in Europe.

He is also not too squeamish about criticising managers in industry, most of whom he is not impressed with.

He does not believe that what politicians and heads of industry are planning for microelectronics in Europe in the future is enough.

Their aims are rather ambitious. They want to collect together the forces of the few European chip producers into a unique EC mutual programme, named Jessi.

Its aim is to strengthen their sales opportunities on world markets and free Europe's whole industry from dependence on America and Japan. This is an ambitious venture.

Pasquale Pistorio, president of the Franco-Italian company SGS-Thomson, said to the American economics magazine *Business Week* that the Europeans "will be the surprise of the future." Fine words, however, must be matched by fine deeds.

Pistorio is the head of Europe's second largest silicon chip producer. The writer of the American article called the chip producers in Europe "the high-tech Titans" of the Old World, although SGS-Thompson only came a modest 14th in a world list of chip manufacturers.

Europe's three leading chip producers, Phillips, SGS-Thomson and Siemens, together only have sales which equal the turnover booked by each of the two top Japanese manufacturers separately.

By preference Europeans appear on the international market for electronic ware only as buyers. They have slipped into a dangerous position of dependence.

There have been plenty of victims in this process. They always keep quiet about their dilemma because it reveals a dangerous shortcoming among all industrialised nations of Europe.

Only recently has the German computer manufacture Nixdorf made known the fact that the frequent exorbitant price increases for minute silicon chips have cost the company millions.

For the same reason Daimler-Benz have unfinished cars parked at their factory because the vital chips for the anti-blocking system (preventing skidding) could not be got hold of.

Silicon chips have become a raw material, without which many sectors of industry just cannot function, just like oil.

But whereas with oil nations it is purely a matter of good fortune whether the "liquid gold" is found in their territory, every country can basically supply itself with chips — providing the country has the technology. Here Europe's industry has been sleeping.

The consequence is that today two-thirds of all electronic circuits have to be imported from America or Japan. This does not just affect computer manufacturers. It also involves car and machinery manufacturers as well as the whole of the leisure electronics industry.

Chips are included in washing-machines; they regulate the light settings for cameras, the cutting depths of electric razors and control heart pace-makers.

A third of West German industrial production is dependent on the use of electronics. In Europe as a whole there are companies employing eight million and with turnover of a billion marks which are dependent on international chips.

If, as in the past few months, there is a shortage of chips, there are only two possibilities open to manufacturers: to pay sudden price increases up to 500 % or cut back production.

That has already cost some companies a lot of money and market shares. Professor Ingolf Ruge, professor for integrated circuits at Munich's Technical University, said: "The important thing is that we are not to be blackmailed."

Japanese firms have almost an international monopoly on memory chips, the most famous of which is the one-megabit chip. This means that they have the say who gets chips and at what price.

These chips are always needed if large quantities of data are to be stored. A car is today fitted out with the memory capacity of five home computers.

Microprocessors, which are responsible for calculating, controlling, measuring and regulating in equipment, are just as important. The pioneers of America's electronics industry have been able to maintain their leading position so far in this sector. But altogether they are also having to put up a fight.

Japan is the arch rival for the Americans and for the Europeans. The fear is that the competition from the Far East is only being built up so markedly so in this way the Japanese are able to overrun other markets. The anxiety is articulated as: first the chips then the machines.

Europe goes along with this view. A brochure issued by the Jessi planning group said: "The Japanese are striving for an international industrial position with chips." The state and firms are each concentrating purposefully on a specific sector. The Jessi brochure says that the Japanese have already achieved their goals with video-recorders, cameras and hi-fi equipment. The Jessi strategists forgot to mention copiers, telefax equipment and printers.

DIE ZEIT

Professor Ruge has warned: "If the Japanese alone control micro-electronics they can dictate what technology shall be used by an international company such as BMW."

It seems that position is not far off. The latest figures from Dataquest, the leading market research company in this sector, show a clear trend. If market shifts of the past few years continue, the whole American electronics industry will lose its leading position to the Japanese competition.

What is involved is a production volume of over $500bn. The Japanese have already reached a half of that.

It is not surprising, then, that the Americans are preparing to do battle. The semiconductor industry is a matter for the Pentagon.

Mainly concerned with safeguarding national security the Defence Department in Washington is supporting Sematec, an union of American chip manufacturers. This amalgamation is charged with rescuing what can be rescued.

In the summer of 1986 the American government concluded a trans-Pacific agreement with the Japanese to bridge the weak point.

The Japanese complained that the West was pushing ahead with anti-dumping measures; but this was enough to force the Japanese to keep exports to a minimum price. This should have protected American chip producers. But it turned out quite differently in fact.

The assiduous American trade bureaucracy neglected the fact that there were few chip producers who had control of memory technology and who could supply the market.

Most had got out of this sector a long time ago, because at the time little money was to be made, or none at all, from standard ware.

The first are only now getting back into the business — with a licence from Japan. Many Japanese companies lost money, but they held on.

The minimum price, forced by the Americans, bestowed upon the Western world a chip price crisis and on the Japanese welcome extra profits. They knew how to make use of these.

They built up new capacities and developed new products. As a result they are pressing into the domain of their competitors more forcefully.

The trade magazine *Markt & Technik* assesses the latest product from Toshiba as a warning shot across the bows of American producers, until now without competition. The module is faster than the latest creations from Motorola and Intel, the market leaders in this sector.

According to the magazine the Japanese are well on the way to breaking into the last technological stronhold the Americans have.

American chip producers tear themselves apart in lethal competition, unlike the Japanese whose ubiquitous International Trade and Industry Ministry, Miti, constantly keeps the largest companies in line with a common strategy.

Intel and Motorola put up a brutal fight for supremacy. The same principle prevailed here as with memory modules: ever better and cheaper.

Intel, the discoverers of the technology, have recently introduced the fastest processor in the world. The product is an international champion among the best and at the same price. Over the past five years this show of strength has cost Intel about $850m.

Now rivals Motorola are on the move. Together Motorola and Intel have a total turnover of about $12bn. Their keenest competitor in Japan has almost twice that figure. This makes it difficult to make headway against the Japanese market strength.

Despite the fatal consequences of the American trade agreement with Japan, European chip producers made an anti-dumping complaint to the European Commission in 1987. There aim was like the Americans; to impose a minimum price on products from Japan.

This European protectionism was aimed at protecting primarily Siemens and the Dutch Philips organisation.

Rather late in the day Siemens and Philips agreed in 1984 a joint plan for catching up in memory modules, named the Mega Plan. They are battling with this technology still. But what was supposed to give them breathing space, meant that users had to wait.

Gaps in technology cannot be closed purely by trade policies. Japan determines the tempo, and that is increasing.

New generations of chips are being made ready for the market faster, and development is getting dearer all the time.

Karl-Heinz Kaske, head of Siemens, said that it cost DM800m to develop the one-megabit chip: the four-megabit chip, its successor, has already swallowed up DM1.4bn in development costs.

If you do not want to go into a technological backwater you have to go along with this, or go under.

Due to a clear strategy and the size of the Japanese electronics giants, who can always count on the assistance of the all-powerful International Trade and Industry Ministry, the Europeans have no other choice but to act in a similar way to the competition. With Jessi the Europeans intend to defy Japan's Miti to stop the Japanese triumphal march.

Eight billion marks have been earmarked for the ambition EC project. Half of this sum will be provided by industry, the other half by the EC. France, Britain, Italy and Holland have been counted in.

Heinz Riesenhuber, Research Minister, has put aside a billion marks. Industry must now show if it is able to achieve a viable working relationship.

It has been confirmed that within a few weeks the members of the management board, the top leadership team, will be named.

It can be taken as read almost that the three largest chip producers, Philips, SGS-Thomson and Siemens, will entrust this task to their top managers.

It is almost certain that Pasquale Pistorio, for example, will have a place on the Jessi executive board. The board will include representatives from users and producers. Discussions are under way with Olivetti, Bull, Bosch and Daimler-Benz.

The presence of senior executives on Jessi's executive board shows clearly that the European industry has woken from its slumbers.

Rough aims have been worked out for some time. The show product is the 64-megabit chip. At present Siemens is working on a four-megabit memory chip.

The structure of the new Jessi chip will be so fine that the city map of London can be reduced in size to the finger-nail size of the silicon chip. The Japanese are also working flat out on this.

Siemens and Philips will cultivate their good partnership in their Mega Project further. SGS-Thomson has arrived on the scene as the third partner.

Chip manufacturers are also interested in obtaining in future the equipment for producing their highly complicated wares from European suppliers. Most suppliers at present are either American of Japanese. This is also included in the Jessi plan.

But the real area of interest for the future lies elsewhere. It comes under the heading "Applications" at Jessi. This involves a very special type of chip.

The relatively new wonder goes under the dry name of Application Specific Integrated Circuit (Asics).

This module will be developed according to the special requirements of a customer — unlike the standard chip.

The exclusive minute chip can perform its tasks in cars, washing machines, television sets, robots and even musical instruments. But this tailor-made chip is expensive. The more perfect the adjustment to special requirements the more expensive is the development and production of the chip.

The chip made to order is not only expensive, it can also be risky. The user is obliged to divulge to the chip producer his production know-how, every special facet differentiating his ideas from those of his competitors.

No matter how much trust there may be

Continued on page 8

■ FINANCE

Sudden loss in appeal of savings banks

Germans are turning away from the traditional savings account as a form of saving, says the Bundesbank, the central bank. Last year, there was an alarming drop in the amount of money going into savings accounts.

It is not surprising. Such accounts are used by banks to finance themselves cheaply. Interest rates are tiny. Some banks offer as little as 2 per cent.

Most offer 2.5 per cent. The interest only becomes really interesting with rates between three per cent (the KKB Bank) and 4.1 per cent (the Augsburger Aktienbank).

Long-term deposits — there are a few exceptions — are not very attractive.

The Bundesbank says that over the past few years, domestic investors have been looking to foreign capital markets and foreign currency dealings.

And why not? In the 1988 financial year, these yields were good after currency adjustments. In Tokyo these amounted to 52.4 per cent, in Sydney 50 per cent and in Paris 46.9 per cent; Frankfurt was way behind with an index increase of 27.1 per cent.

Then shares in Frankfurt in the current year have moved neither up nor down much, while many international stock exchanges are showing a plus of between 20 and 40 per cent.

The reasons for the change in attitude were: the introduction of a domestic withholding tax (almost certainly now about to be abolished), high external interest rates and the gains that can be made on currency exchange deals.

The Bundesbank observed a change in the habits of small savers such as working people on low incomes. They were now more ready to take risks with their money and invest in shares than they used to be.

This could be a warning, for when the man on the street buys shares, this is a sign that an upturn is soon about to have reached its peak.

Nevertheless foreign loan still offers attractive interest rates.

In a recent survey by the People's Banks and the Agricultural Credit Cooperatives the relatively stable ecu offers a yield of 8.5 per cent, US dollar loan about 9.5 per cent, Canadian securities as much as 11 per cent, New Zealand Kiwi Loan even offers 12.5 per cent, and many Australian loan issues offer 15 per cent.

Despite such marked tendencies in 1988 to risk bonds it should not be forgotten that most private investors put safety first.

More than a half of their investment was in fixed-interest securities. Three-quarters of these securities were domestic fixed-interest securities.

Mortgage bonds profited from this since they yield by a hairsbreadth more than government loan.

Recently mortgage loan with a remaining term of four years yielded 7.3 per cent while government loan yield was 7.23 per cent.

The difference was greater on ten-year mortgage bonds at 7.25 per cent but government loan at 7.05 per cent.

The abolition of withholding tax and a mark which was again strong could, along with increasing foreign interest rates, contribute to more pleasing savings statistics for 1989.

Oskar H. Metzger

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 27 May 1989)

Sharp dispute on merits of scrapping withholding tax

A tax on certain capital gains has always been payable but in practice seldom enforced. The government introduced a withholding tax under which banks and other financial institutions were to deduct tax at source. The outcry against the tax, which only came into effect at the beginning of the year, was one reason for a decision to scrap it. Heinz Murmann reports for the Cologne daily, *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*.

Banks have welcomed the decision to abolish the the withholding tax. This became clear at a public hearing of the Bundestag's finance committee.

But several professors were sharply critical. They said this was opening the way for tax evasion.

Legislation abolishing the tax should be approved before the Bundestag's summer recess.

Financial expert Professor Rürup from Darmstadt said at the public hearing that after passing the legislation the tax on interest income will degenerate into a "stupid tax."

Anyone who evades taxes can count on not being prosecuted, he said, adding that the concept of equal taxation will become an absurdity.

He also pointed out that after the abolition of withholding tax the regulations restricting the tax authorities' rights to investigate private people's bank accounts will continue to apply.

He said: "The concept of taxing returns on capital is torn to shreds by doing this."

Lawyer Arndt from Mannheim said that the abolition of the tax meant "bowing down to tax evaders." He said that the state was introducing legislation in which it waived its rights to collect taxes on specific kinds of income.

Administrative expert Professor Littmann from Speyer expressed doubt whether the abolition of the tax in the form planned was constitutional. He said that tax-payer honesty would suffer.

Professor Hickel from Bremen finally spoke of a "bereavement for the Federal Republic's tax legislation."

Like others he criticised that the withholding tax was too complicated and administratively expensive to collect.

He recommended that the savers' tax free allowance should be increased and to make sure of the tax on capital earnings by random checks through banks' tax audit tracer notes.

The president of the association of savings and giro banks, Helmut Geiger, welcomed the abolition of taxation at source and the maintenance of the Banking Decree of 1949 in its strongest form, the Decree which imposed restraints on the fiscal authorities in tracing taxable transactions.

Administration expenses for banks and savings banks were high, he said, adding that the effect of withholding tax on the capital market had been negative.

He said that the introduction of withholding tax had resulted in irrational reactions by savers. Savers had not understood the process and had become indignant about the tax on interest.

The vice-president of the Bundesbank, Helmut Schlesinger, took the same line as Herr Geiger against the tax-audit tracer notes. He said that the attempt to tax interest at source had shown how quickly investors' faith could be shaken. He said that this should not be repeated.

Herr Schlesinger drew attention to the fact that as a consequence of withholding tax there had been a marked flight of capital out of the Federal Republic.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 1 June 1989)

Continued from page 7

between business partners, distrust can never be totally ruled out.

Asics contains the most secret information. What is decisive for every use is the question to whom he should hand over this information.

Hans-Georg Junginger, development chief at Grundig, was clear in his mind. He said that it was vitally important that systems know-how should remain in the company.

This is precisely the purpose of Jessi. Users will be put in the position to develop their own ideas so far that they only have to be put out for production.

Most Asic factories are at present in America. Just this once Japan is behind, so Europe has good opportunities.

Because conventional chip producers are interested in mass production of the same type, many are already fearing that medium-sized firms will be left by the wayside.

The basic problem is recognised, however. According to Hans Weinerth, a director of Philips, Europe has a much wider basis for systems knowledge than America or the countries in the Pacific, because of its many medium-sized companies.

"This knowledge will flow to Japan, South Korea and America, if we do not build up an independent European microelectronic industry," said Weinerth.

The Japanese are looking quite calmly towards the west. The leading Japanese economics magazine *Nikon Keizar Shimbun* recently commented rather benevolently that the West was eventually catching up with the four-megabit chip, particularly Siemens show of strength.

The magazine's statement that "Japanese producers no longer totally dominated the world market," will not shock the elite of Japanese chip producers.

Gunhild Lütge

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 26 May 1989)

Dollars and marks: how far will the yo-yo go?

Speculation has again been rife about whether the Central Bank Council would or would not decide to raise interest rates for the third time this year.

From the international economic point of view nothing much has changed since the council last met 14 days ago.

The Federal Republic's economy is in full swing, prices are only rising slowly and there has been a decline in the unemployment figure. Nothing much has changed abroad either. Washington, just as before, is battling with the national debt and the foreign trade deficit — with only limited success.

There is only one difference from two weeks ago: the exchange rate with the dollar has risen to over two marks, and anyone who believes this is a nine-day wonder must become better informed.

Neither the sale of dollars by central banks, in which the Bundesbank once more took part, weakened the dollar exchange rate decisively, nor did criticism that the dollar was overvalued hinder international capital market jugglers from purchasing dollars.

What will the currency experts in the Central Bank Council decide? Norbert Kloten of the Regional Central Bank in Baden-Württemberg, said that it made no sense any longer selling dollars.

He said that the only possibility open to the central bank was to raise interest rates to make investment in the Federal Republic attractive again.

It is doubtful, however, whether the financial markets would take much notice of an increase in the discount and Lombard rates of a half percentage point.

If higher interest rates are to have any influence, the Bundesbank must pull on the financial reigns more strongly.

There are no internal reasons for doing this. For this reason many believe that the Bundesbank experts will decide to wait a little longer.

This will do nothing to harm economic growth in the Federal Republic anyway.

It is questionable whether the reputation of a country is burnished in the eyes of major investors ovder night by decisions involving the discount and Lombard rates. There would be an advantage in mildly increasing interest rates as a gesture to other industrialised nations.

But then there would be no chance of raising interests rates when it really mattered.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 31 May 1989)

The mysterious twists of the market

The stock exchange is mysterious: for months the economy has been in full swing and companies have been coming in thick and fast with reports of record results — yet prices did not increase.

Suddenly this changed. Prices hit record levels. This was not so much a belated reflection of economic growth as a reaction to movements on currency exchange markets.

Primarily foreign investors have moved into buying shares. Obviously they are counting on an end to the mark's weakness. Should a revaluation of the mark come about, there would be gains.

Favourite shares for investment are companies which are strong on exports, companies which are profiting from the current mark weakness. They can sell their products more easily on foreign markets.

Such considerations do not form a basis for a sustained rise in German stocks and share prices.

This is confirmed by a Dresdner Bank analysis, which says that German company stocks and shares are undervalued by about 25 per cent.

Share prices have rarely focused on such fundamental "realities." It is more likely that a period of uncertainty will return.

Then recent worries about further increases in prices and interest rates will not have blown over at all. This trend is "poison" to the stock exchanges.

Michael Heller

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 31 May 1989)

■ ASTRONOMY

Back through history to the Year Zero

Astronomers are in the throes of an optical revolution. Reflecting telescopes of unprecedented size will hopefully enable them to widen their horizons billions of light years into the universe.

Once upon a time, 18 billion years ago . . . the planned Very Large Telescope. (Photo: ESO)

The block of molten glass from which the lens of the Calar Alto telescope in southern Spain was made originally weighed 26 tonnes.

Heated to a temperature of 1,600° C, it took 146 days to cool down, and a further 254 days to complete further ceramic treatment.

This process, involving further heating and cooling, transforms glass into a material known as Zerodur that virtually no longer expands when heated.

The resulting blank took a further three and a half years to grind and polish. It then weighed 13 tonnes and was 65 cm (25.6in) thick and 3.5 metres (11ft 6in) in diameter.

Since 1985 it has been the centrepiece of the German telescope at Calar Alto, 2,160 metres (7,087ft), in southern Spain.

It is so powerful that it could be used to look, from Spain, at a postcard held aloft by someone in North Africa.

This comparison is merely intended to convey an idea of what it can do. The telescope is, of course, used to scour the universe.

Astronomers use it to look at galaxies up to ten billion light years away (our own galaxy, the Milky Way, is a mere 100,000 light years in diameter). "By looking so far out into the universe," says US astronomer Maarten Schmidt, "we are leafing back through the pages of history and fast approaching the year zero."

Despite the use of land- or satellite-based radiotelescopes the optical variety, relying on light waves rather than radio waves, are still most important.

Indeed, telescopes of the size and power of the German reflector in Spain are forerunners of an entirely new generation.

American and European astronomers lead the field and are paving the way for what promises to be an optical revolution.

At La Silla, 2,400 metres (7,874ft) up in the Chilean Andes, the European Southern Observatory (ESO) consists of a dozen telescopes.

The latest addition, commissioned in October 1988, is the world's most powerful reflecting telescope.

Its reflector is 3.5 metres (11ft 6in) in diameter, or the same size as Calar Alto's, but it includes a number of features that are technological improvements.

Ever larger reflectors are needed to collect light from the edge of the universe, as it were, but in practice there are physical limits to the size of conventional glass or quartz lenses.

Weight is the problem. Jumbo lenses are distorted under the burden of their weight.

The optical lens of the New Technology Telescope (NTT) at La Silla is mounted on 78 mobile buffers that cushion its weight.

A computerised system maintains a continuous check on the reflector surface and instantly adjusts the buffers to offset irregularities of a few millionths of a millimetre.

The construction principle was devised to enable extremely thinly-ground, lightweight reflectors to be used.

The NTT reflector is only 24 cm (9.5in) thick and weighs six tonnes, which is much less than conventional mirrors of its diameter.

What is more, a metrological innovation enabled the time spent polishing the lens to be reduced substantially, so that grinding and polishing the blank took a mere 18 months.

Yet the surface is so smoothly polished that light is focused three times better than by other, comparable telescopes.

These improvements and the opportunities they open up have whetted astronomers' appetites for reflectors over five metres (16ft) in diameter.

Five metres used to be regarded as the largest size that was physically possible. Reflectors eight, twelve and sixteen metres in diameter are now either under construction or being considered.

In the United States a super-telescope with a ten-metre (32.81ft) reflector is due to start working in 1991. It will be named after its sponsor, William Keck, and built on Mauna Kea, 4,150 metres (13,616ft), Hawaii.

It will be four times more powerful than the telescope on Mount Palomar in California. Its reflector will consist of 36 hexagonal mirrors arranged in honeycomb fashion to function as a uniform surface.

Computers will monitor the honeycomb, inspecting each segment about 300 times a second, and adjust it electronically, to within 0.0001 mm.

European telescope makers are doubtful whether this principle will work. They feel the problems faced in connection with adjusting the individual segments will prove too difficult.

Be that as it may, the Americans plan to commission a 15-metre (53.7ft) telescope, the National New Technology Telescope (NNTT), in about 1992.

It will be so powerful, US astronomers say, that they can identify objects the size of a gold dollar 1,000 miles away.

European astronomers plan something bigger too. The 3.5-metre La Silla telescope is to be joined by a bigger brother, the Very Large Telescope (VLT).

The European Southern Observatory is not to decide until next year where it will be built, but it will probably be in the Andes. It will not be ready for use much before the turn of the century.

It is planned as an array of four mirrors costing nearly DM390m and should enable astronomers to look back at the origins of the universe.

ESO officials say the VLT's range will be up to 18 billion light years.

The Big Bang, or origin of the universe, is felt to have occurred about 20 billion light years ago, so the VLT should indeed take astronomers almost back to the beginning of time.

The four reflectors, each eight metres (26ft 3in) in diameter, can be combined to form a single surface 16 metres (52ft 6in) in diameter.

The project's critics — and it has its critics — are reminded by astrophysicists that most cosmic matter emits visible light. So reflector telescopes continue to be indispensable.

Light is said to hold the key to understanding the universe. A galaxy ten billion light years away is seen on Earth as it was ten billion years ago, when our own solar system did not yet exist.

German astronomers are determined not to miss this opportunity and would soonest have a national telescope at their disposal.

The DGT, short for German Large Telescope, is planned as a full member of the new generation of high-powered telescopes that will be the mainstay of astronomical research.

Its reflector will be 12 metres (39ft 4in) in diameter, and astronomers are looking forward to putting it through its paces.

Going back to the origins of the universe is only one use to which the new generation of telescopes can be put; no less serious problems await a solution closer at hand.

How do galaxies take shape? How do black holes collapse? Is there life elsewhere in the universe?

Professor Klaus Fricke of Göttingen University observatory, head of the DGT working party, hopes the government will decide before the year's end to go ahead with the German super-eye.

Once the decision has been reached several disciplines will need to give of their best. They include computer technology, precision optics, metrology and surveying, microelectronics and structural steel engineering.

Gerhard Taube

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg 19 May 1989)

■ THE THEATRE

After 25 years, the Wall opens up for a Berlin festival

This year's Berlin Theatertreffen, the 26th, was the most successful ever. For the first time, East German groups took part.

After all this time, 25 years, the East German regime decided to lift its senseless ban.

But there were suspicions — strongly denied — that an internal quota system had been applied. The Federal Republic of Germany had four plays, East Germany was represented with three and Austria and Switzerland each with just one.

The denials of the organisers have to be believed, but only the next festival will show if what they say is, in fact, true and that quality is the yardstick.

The East Germans came out of the festival honourably. Two of their productions, both from East Berlin, were above average. The Maxim Gorki Theater presented Volker Braun's *Übergangsgesellschaft*, produced by Thomas Langhoff. Braun has been called the East German Chekhov.

In the play, the revolutionaries have become weary. People have become bourgeois. They are thankful when they are left in peace. They all exist in an "interim society."

Braun presents a sceptical view of contemporary life and Langhoff bitterly put this on the stage — such an honest assessment of society the other side of the Wall produced astonished admiration among audiences this side of the Wall.

The same was true of Heiner Müller. He re-worked his 30-year-old play, *Der Lohndrücker*, for the Deutsches Theater and produced it himself.

It is a summing up of the situation in a large "Kombinat" early in the post-war years.

A furnace fails. A worker reports to repair the breakdown. It is a risky job and he takes risks to life and limb. His colleagues abuse his diligence and even physically threaten him. Without the furnace, the works is only limping along. That suits the men. They see their colleague as a toady, a betrayer of his fellow workers.

The man's heroic efforts to repair the furnace are successful and the Kombinat gets back into action.

Heiner Müller produces this on the stage with poetical emphasis. The indignant workers do not appear as a grey mass of faces. They speak with amazing boldness, all with the same voice.

Party newspapers are mocked. The new socialist company manager, dressed as former capitalists were, has to listen to inflammatory speeches.

Wittily and in part cynically they go on against the current party jargon, and even an awful vision of Stalin appears.

The production was of a high aesthetic quality. We in West Berlin were astonished at the open sincerity of Müller's play and his perfect production.

The third contribution from East Germany was Robertowitsch Erdmann's comedy *Der Selbstmörder*, dealing with Russia in the 1920s. Erdmann himself disappeared soon after the play was written into one of Stalin's camps.

The play was put on by the Schweriner Theater and could not be compared with the others. This production was rather loose, certainly not sure of itself.

There was from Vienne Claus Peymann's Burgtheater-Show with Thomas Bernhard's provocative *Burgtheater* travesty — but how quickly sensational theatre becomes redundant. Here we saw just the rather repetitive and textually questionable aftertaste of Peymann's former scandals.

From Basle we had the Kleist play *Das Käthchen vom Heilbronn*, directed by Cesare Lievi with sets by his brother, Daniele Lievi.

The sets were overdone, strangely surrealistic as if Chirico in his late period, dream-alienated, had had a hand in the design.

This was pleasing to some extent, but on the whole there was a lack of Kleist's romantic, dramatic fairytale element.

Almost all the West German contributions were splendid, some exciting and competent. Botho Strauss presented two comedies. The first was *Die Zeit und das Zimmer*, directed by Luc Bondy and perfectly performed by Berlin's "Schaubühne."



Heinz Bennent (left) and Axel Milberg in *Besucher*, shown in Berlin. (Photo: Rabanus)

The second was the Munich production of *Besucher*, directed by Dieter Dorn.

Heinz Bennent and Cornelia Froboess carried off the festival's acting laurels in this production, which put the completely mad acting fraternity in the stocks in a comical way.

There were two contributions from Hamburg's Thalia Theatre: Barnard Koltes' *Rückkehr in die Wüste*, a particularly artificial production from Alexander Lang.

Then a wonderful, enlightening Chekhov production, one of his early works, *Platanow*.

The Berlin audience once more sighed and laughed. Jürgen Flimm directed and had in Hans Christian Rudolph an excellent actor for the title role of this melancholy play.

Bremen sent to Berlin Günter Krämer's production of Ernst Barlach's *Armer Vetter*. This was also a highpoint of this festival, full of interesting productions.

At last a Barlach production retaining his North German humour, which is usually neglected, and his deep insight into people.

This festival was very successful with enormous public interest. Every performance was a sell-out. Every evening there were people hanging around the box-office, looking for tickets.

For three weeks Berlin was the great German theatrical metropolis, which the city was once.

Friedrich Luft

(Die Welt, Bonn, 30 May 1989)

A New York squat on a Hamburg stage

A parody of myths and modern fairytales by the Squat Theater of New York is expected to be one of the highlights of Hamburg's Theater der Welt festival.

The Squat Theater's *L' Train to Eldorado*, by Stephen Balint, parodies American soap opera.

The festival is under the patronage of President Richard von Weizsäcker and will be opened by Hamburg's mayor, Henning Voscherau.

Honorary president of the festival is Ivan Nagel, who was responsible for organising the first one in 1981. He will also make a speech.

The programme includes 27 groups and solo artists from most European countries, China, Russia, Chile, Australia, America, Canada, South Africa and Mexico.

The productions will be at the Thalia Theater, the Deutsches Schauspielhaus, the Kampnagelfabrik theatre, the St Pauli Theater and the "Giesserei."

The programme also includes two lectures, one on dance theatre and the other on theatrical practice in East Germany.

dpa

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 24 May 1989)

Booming words around the guillotine

The Ruhr Festival Ensemble has grouped its own contributions to the Ruhr's major theatre festival around the French Revolution of 1789, under the title "Grosse Freiheit 89."

There was a fair-like presentation of history in front of the Recklinghausen Theatre with pastoral plays, masked groups, tableaux and booming speeches on the guillotine.

Inside the theatre the public could chose between three simultaneous productions. The stage was subdivided for a 1791 comedy by August von Kotzebue, *Der weibliche Jacobiner-Club*, and Goethe's *Bürgergeneral* of 1793.

In the auditorium there was the première of *Paris-Tahiti*, a dramatic collage from the writings of the Marat's murderess, Charlotte Corday, the man who defended her, Adam Lux and Georg Forster, the writer and revolutionary from Mainz.

Jürgen Fischer and Hermann Kleinselbeck have concocted these texts into an easily-understood play.

There was also the première of a dramatic experiment produced by the director and choreographer Pavel Mikulastik, a concerto for 12 actors and chamber orchestra, entitled *Die Schüler von Varennes*.

This production dealt with the French Revolution looked at from the point of view of the "little people," the inhabitants of the small French village where in June 1792 their king, Louis XVI, was prevented from fleeing to Belgium.

The play is economic in dialogue and has an accentuated spiritual veneer.

The Bochum Symphony Orchestra was also effective in the première of the oratorio *Die Befreiung*, a work commissioned for the Ruhr Festival from Friedrich Daniels with music by Wolfgang Florey.

This work looked at the monumental aspects of the revolutionary era, bringing out the moral aspects.

Arthur Schnitzler's drama *Der grüne Kakadu*, produced as pub theatre in a tent, rounded things off.

The artistic qualities of this giant festival were various. But it did show that the Festival Ensemble, which in the past has come under heavy criticism, does have plentiful reserves of talent.

Ingeborg Schader

(Mannheimer Morgen, 27 May 1989)



Goethe's *Der Bürgergeneral*, at the Ruhr festival. (Photo: Karlheinz Jardner)

■ THE ARTS

Where pulling strings is the only way to get ahead

In this article for *Mannheimer Morgen*, Antoinette Schmelter looks at the school in Stuttgart where people are trained to use puppets. But it is not training for entertainers. It is far more serious than that.

At Stuttgart's state-approved College of Music and the Performing Arts, adults play with puppets for adults. It is the only institution in Europe which awards young puppeteers a state-recognised diploma.

There is no room here for the droll, the entertaining or the comical. The concentration is on those areas of puppet theatre which have been little explored. This is not the stuff to bewitch an audience.

Albrecht Roser, the initiator of this unusual course of training in Stuttgart, said: "Puppets are what everyone knows about from childhood, from school or from television, from programmes such as the Augsburg puppet theatre or Sesame Street."

"Our fraternity is rarely taken seriously. How often have I asked myself as a puppeteer: What do you really do for a living?"

At the end of the 1970s there was a lot of scepticism about his efforts to organise puppet training.

For almost 10 years he unsuccessfully studied singing before deciding, to everyone's amazement, to study puppet theatre.

Roser now has an international reputation. He is the creator of puppets such as the Clown Gustav and the TV Grandma from Stuttgart.

He had to spent five years at university. Then it wasn't until the autumn of 1983 that he was able to house the puppeteer generation of tomorrow in part of an old factory building.

He had 400 square metres high aboved the rooftops of Stuttgart; a maximum of eight students per semester, eight semesters of project study in the craft and dramaturgy of the puppet theatre, actual puppeteers as guest lecturers.

Outlining the concept of the college Roser, 66, said: "Creativity cannot be learned." The roomy training rooms contain small stages for rehearsals; half-chiselled puppet heads lie on the workbenches, and mountains of glistening material, styrene and metres of wire are in metre-high stands.

Roser said: "Of course we provide important basic training such as speech and body training, and a thorough insight into the production and handling of the puppets." He is aided in his work by the head of the course of studies, Werner Knoedgen.

The professor added: "But we concentrate on experimentation with the greatest amount of creative freedom."

Marc Schnittger said that four years at the Stuttgart college was four years for him to try out and specialise. He is one of those chosen from a large number of applicants.

Schnittger, 22, like many of his fellow students was involved with puppets before coming here. He comes from Kiel. Since he completed the *Abitur*, the university entrance examination, he has had experience in courses on puppeteering in Idstedt, next to the Bochum-based German Institute for Puppeteering the most important establishment for training in the art and science of puppeteering for laymen and professionals.

He also visited many festivals at home and abroad and ventured to make his first steps on the puppet stage which means the world to him.

While doing community service as an alternative to conscription, Marc produced the children's play, *Die Weltreise*. With two screens for the stage and hand puppets he made himself he showed this piece in schools and festivals.

Schnittger has his dreams, but he is realistic about the future.

"Working for children seems to be the only long-term possibility for making a living as a puppeteer," he says.

He spoke over a cup of coffee in the pleasant kitchen of the flat where, round a huge table, other students were organising cleaning and shopping schedules.

He said: "That's why I suppose I shall later go into children's theatre, which is dear to my heart anyway. But my head belongs to puppets for adults."

By fostering and developing further children's theatre in combination with the adaption of serious themes for a demanding audience the Stuttgart college is linking up with a tradition stretching back for centuries.

Long before the characters Kasperle, Grandmother and the Devil entered into the children's nursery in the 19th century, dynasties of puppeteers all over the country brought their mobile theatre to everyone.

Their repertoire included classics such as *Faust* and *Genoveva*, melodramas such as *Notburga, das muster treuer Dienstboten*, bloody tragedies and political plays, which brought down the wrath of the authorities on the travelling performers.

In certain cases the secular and spiritual authorities feared the temptations of the puppet stage so much that they took drastic action against the performers. Without further ado Prince Metternich forbade Austrian puppeteers from speaking on stage — a decree for pantomime which remained valid until well into this century.

Professor Roser said, describing the situation of the puppet theatre today: "In the era of television, cinema and video we puppeteers have a difficult battle on our hands. "The public only take real notice of those who can offer something spectacular. Since our scope is limited by the nature of things we have to capture our audience by other means and grudually build up a public." The annual entrance examination to the college shows that Roser's pupils have chosen a completely individual and unusual path to the puppet theatre of tomorrow. Some of the 20 to 30 applicants make their début with something traditional from the children's theatre and adult repertoire, others, like Jens-Erwin Siemmsen from Bremerhaven, from the very outset swim against the tide.

Puppeteering at the Stuttgart school. (Photo: PMI)

Siemmsen, 24, played for his entrance examination the story of Creation, directed by himself, with fireworks and lighting on a wireframe so as to improvise *Faust* afterwards with an electric shaver and hair-dryer.

The worth of the four years of study in puppet theatre has been demonstrated at an international level. In Ljubljana at the first gathering of puppeteer training institutions from nine countries, which have for a long time, like the GDR, Russia or South Korea, promoted puppeteering as an element in their cultural life, the first graduates from the Stuttgart college showed their avant-gard productions with success.

One of them was successful enough a year after graduating to be able to go out on his own. Frank Soehnle, 25, together with a puppeteer from East Germany, Thomas Hänsel, opened the puppet theatre, Marotte, in a former oven factory in the centre of Karlsruhe.

Dark-haired Frank, whose face showed the effects of the hard work he had put in over the past few months, said that "good productions, imaginative puppets and unusual material did not count any longer."

He explained: "There is an awful lot of organisational work for a new piece for children every month and a production for adults every other month, which we two together just can't cope with."

Although there was a puppet theatre called "Sandkorn" in the theatre where the Marotte Theatre exists, so that there was a certain regular audience from the beginning, interested in Frank Soehnle's and Thomas Hänsel's ideas, the 78 seats in the completely purple auditorium were not always all filled.

"The adults, who usually came accompanying their children, were rather hesitant," Frank said in the living quarters behind the stage which serves as workshop, office and kitchen at one and the same time.

With plays such as *Mutabor*, a dramatic adaptation of some of the young Wilhelm Hauff's fairy-tales by means of drama, pantomime, masks and puppets, or the provocative *Idioten*, taken from a production by Konrad Bayer, however, he hopes to draw adult audiences away from their prejudice of regarding puppeteering as trivial and just entertaining. This is a goal which Frank is pursuing not lest for financial reasons.

He said: "We get DM50,000 a year from the the city, so we are glad of every additional audience member we can get."

There are about 150 professional and 400 amateur puppet theatres operating for the pleasure of young people in this country. But even if the situation of puppeteering is not in general rosy, Frank and Thomas want to continue working with their "Marotte Theatre."

"In the puppet theatre there are so many possibilities still to be exploited," Frank said, "that we are not short of ideas for long."

He continued: "You have to be open to new ideas. For our latest children's play Thomas and I played around so long with a pile of pillows until I transformed the square things stuffed with feathers into puppets — and so our box-office hit *Kissen auf Reisen* was born."

Antoinette Schmelter

(Mannheimer Morgen, 27 May 1989)

Continued from page 3

possible to indefinitely preserve the status quo in the heart of Europe.

Admittedly, there are neither instant recipes for success nor schedules.

Anyone who expects Gorbachov to take action now or in the foreseeable future assumes that he accepts the standard formula of the right of self-determination for the Germans.

This would mean ignoring both the historical circumstances which led to the division of Germany as well as the current situation in the Soviet Union itself.

This explains why the expectations the Bonn government pins on Gorbachov's visit are not so far-reaching.

Bonn wants well-ordered relations and the extension of economic ties, realising only too well that politicians can only build a framework for these relations.

It hopes to encourage Mikhail Gorbachov and his supporters to make new prior concession in the disarmament policy field without itself running the risk of being viewed as the mediator between the disarmament fronts by its partners in the West.

Bonn's foreign policy politicians take up the Soviet idea of the Common European House, in the knowledge of course that the most important thing is how the house is furnished. So far, however, they do not seem to have realised that they can also play a part in the interior design.

Even after Gorbachov's visit Bonn's policy towards Moscow will probably remain peculiarly undecided and lacking in initiative.

The joint declaration at the end of the visit will not a big success. True to Paul Frank's claim, the German-Soviet relationship will look back on the courageous interludes of Rapallo and the Moscow treaty.

Sten Martenson

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 2 June 1989)

■ EDUCATION

Too many school pupils queueing up for too few university places

The ZVS, or University Admissions Board, in Dortmund is a name to conjure with twice a year when German school-leavers apply for admission to the university of their choice. Fingers are crossed and breath is bated as the computer processes applications and notifies applicants of acceptance or rejection. How does the system work? *The board's press officer, Bernhard* Scheer, tells the story in this article for the Bonn daily newspaper *Die Welt*.

When the first truckloads of brochures start arriving at Sonnenplatz in Dortmund, residents are reminded that the ZVS, or University Admissions Board, is girding its loins for the fray.

Early each summer it sends out over half a million brochures to would-be students to enable them to acquaint themselves with the application procedure.

The ZVS has a printshop of its own with an output of 2.2 million sheets of paper a year: application forms, admissions lists and so on.

Individual applicants are notified, but so are school, university and labour exchange advice bureaus.

Despite the need to standardise correspondence the ZVS tries to retain a personal note in its dealings with would-be students.

The franking machines handle nearly *850,000 letters a year.* This personal contact is seen as an essential counterweight to the thankless task of administering fewer university places than there are would-be students.

The Dortmund board is keen to provide personal service so as not to be equated, as a soulless symbol, with the gap between supply and demand in university education.

"An applicant who is turned down," says Henning Berlin, the ZVS's director, "*must not gain the impression that* the ZVS has merely pulled bureaucratic strings to prevent him from studying.

"When an applicant is turned down it must be seen to be the result of a shortage of university places and not of the way in which the ZVS, as an impartial arbiter, handles applications."

All applicants are sent a computer print-out of their data indicating whether mistaken information might jeopardise the applicant's opportunity of gaining university admission or information that has not been supplied might exclude him (or her) from the selection procedure.

About 20,000 winter semester applicants are notified of such errors. Most of them do something about them.

Yet about 3,000 are excluded from the selection procedure because, for instance, they have failed to specify a valid course or failed to take the medical.

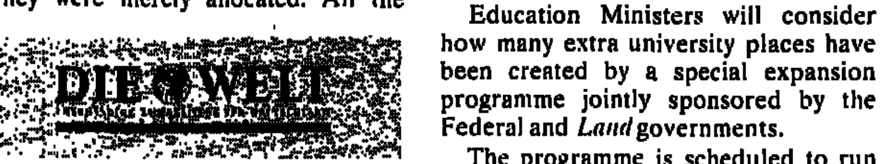
By the time the board starts mailing application forms, starting the procedure rolling months have elapsed since preparations began.

The ZVS is jointly run by the 11 *Länder* and its first task is to coordinate their differing political views.

Joint sessions are held to work out the details of the admissions procedure, subject to fundamental problems that occur from time to time.

An overriding recent problem has been the demand for business studies courses.

Until the winter semester of 1988/89 there were enough places to go round. They were merely allocated. All the



ZVS had to do was to decide, on the basis of results attained, who could study *management at the university of his* choice and who would have to make do *with his second or third choice.*

This allocation procedure has been followed since the winter semester of 1975/76. It is the key to providing university places for all applicants.

The alternative is a *numerus clausus*, or first-past-the-post arrangement, for university courses for which the demand exceeds the supply.

In subjects where this is not the case the *Länder* guarantee all applicants a place, although it need not be at the university of their choice.

If the demand marginally exceeds the supply, funds are allocated to provide extra places.

In recent semesters there have well over twice as many business studies applicants as places available, with the result that the *Länder* were no longer agreed on what to do.

Hamburg and Berlin in particular no longer felt able to invest more money in overcrowded business studies facilities.

Business studies courses were rationed this summer semester. There were 5,600 applicants, of whom 3,500 were granted places and 2,400 enrolled as first-semester students.

Political decisions of this kind can *have a dramatic effect on the board's* work. Handling applications for university places in *numerus clausus* subjects is roughly twice as expensive as the simpler allocation procedure.

The board cannot tell how much work there will be. Last winter semester there were over 20,000 applicants for business studies courses. Would the *numerus clausus* deter a substantial *number?*

Demand was estimated at 17,000, but the ZVS has to be prepared to handle either a trickle or a flood.

Plans can be upset by political decisions too. In mid-August the *Länder* are to confer and may decide to scrap the *numerus clausus* arrangement for business studies courses.

Education Ministers will consider how many extra university places have been created by a special expansion programme jointly sponsored by the Federal and *Land* governments.

The programme is scheduled to run for seven years. It will entail investment totalling DM2.1bn.

In mid-March when the initial decision to impose a numerus clausus was reached, no-one knew how many extra places might be created in the first year of the special programme.

In mid-August, or so the Education Ministers hoped, they might have a clearer idea of the position. If the number of applicants makes selection procedures seem unnecessary, places will simply be allocated, as they used to be.

The ZVS could then write off preparations that were no longer needed, but it would sooner send out acceptances than rejections.

The discrepancy between supply and demand isn't the ZVS's fault, but applicants who have been turned down are understandably annoyed — and feel the Dortmund board is to blame.

Bernhard Scheer

(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 May 1989)

Big demand for business studies course

Reutlingen in Baden-Württemberg shares with London, Madrid and Reims the distinction of having run for 10 years a European business studies (EBS) programme.

Caroline Grant from Manchester has read business studies in Reutlingen for nearly two years. Fellow-student Christian Bergmann first studied in Reims. Bijan Khajehpour would like to spend his next two years in London.

All are now reading business studies in Reutlingen, where the tenth anniversary of the European business *studies* programme is being fittingly *celebrated.*

They were lucky. In Reutlingen alone there were 1,400-odd *applicants* for the course last year. *Only 90,* the maximum intake, were admitted.

There simply isn't enough room for more students. When tests and interviews are held, the college is completely over-run by would-be students.

Understandably, those that are admitted are keen. There are very few dropouts, maybe two or three per semester.

Would-be business studies graduates spend the first two years at the *university or college in their own country,* followed by two years abroad at one of the other three.

London, Madrid and Reims joined forces with Reutlingen in the late 1970s. The exchange scheme is excellent, but not, by any stretch of the imagination, a cushy number for students.

Each of the four countries has its own courses and study arrangements. In *France, for instance, there is more drill.* In England the atmosphere is *much* more relaxed.

"In London," Ms Grant says, "students and heads of department are on first-name terms."

Professor Hans J. Tümmers, head of department in Reutlingen, points out that the Federal Republic of Germany is one of the world's leading *exporters* and will form part of the post-1992 single European market.

He feels European business studies programme graduates are *prepared* more intensively and with greater practice-orientation than most fellow-students for a career in business.

They spend time working as trainees in the other country too, so they *gain* a clearer idea of differences in the way

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■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Row erupts over levels of pesticides in drinking water

The writer, Stuttgart chemist Manfred Häfner, is head of department at the Baden-Württemberg Plant Protectant Research Establishment; he has been an expert on pesticide residues for over 15 years.

Ground water in parts of Germany is so heavily pesticide-polluted that ceilings which will shortly come into force are already exceeded substantially, says the Gas and Water Industry Association.

A European Community limit of 0.5 micrograms of pesticide per litre of drinking-water is to apply from next October.

An estimated 100 tonnes of pesticide a day is spread and sprayed in German fields, gardens and parks, says an industry spokesman, so no water board can be sure that pesticides will not seep into its ground water.

There is nothing new about the news that much of the ground water on which German water boards draw for tap water is pesticide-polluted.

The worst offender is Atrazine, a herbicide, and its de-ethyl decomposition product. Understandably, water authorities feel they are up against it.

A press release issued by the Gas and Water Industry Association outlines the situation, calling for protection from pesticides and pointing out that agriculture is not run on environment-friendly lines.

The association's Gerhard Stuber says over 40 agents have already been identified in ground water, with the result that the ceiling which is to apply from next October, 0.1 micrograms of individual pesticide per litre of drinking-water, will be exceeded in many areas.

Lists of pesticides of which traces have been found in ground water have been circulated among government agencies that issue licences to manufacture and market them in Germany.

The Gas and Water Industry Association has also issued a lengthy list of damage done and called for drastic restrictions to be imposed on their use and for a ban on pesticides that endanger water supplies.

These lists create the impression that any sample of German ground water analysed is bound to reveal traces of some pesticide or other. Farmers and the water boards are certainly heading for a clash.

Thirty thousand tonnes of pesticide a year is spread or sprayed, and the pesticides in use include 300 different chemicals.

In mid-May the Federal Health Office, Berlin, joined the fray with a compromise proposal. If the German water authorities draw up, adopt and submit details of a modernisation programme, why not waive the new ceiling for a decade?

For 10 years, the Berlin agency suggests, water boards might be allowed to exceed twentyfold the European Community ceiling of 0.5 micrograms per litre. Consumer groups and environmentalists were not, to put it mildly, amused.

The debate is now so heated that the time has come to take a closer look at the background to the Federal Health Office's proposals.

The ceiling is based on the European Community's 1980 guideline on "the quality of water for human use." It specifies a limit of 0.1 micrograms per litre for each individual pesticide and a cumulative maximum of 0.5 micrograms per litre.

The European Community arrived at these ratings on a precautionary basis. In other words, they are well below the level at which pesticide concentrations are likely to be a health hazard.

In 1980 the Community's member-countries had virtually no practical experience of measurements in such minute quantities, so the limits were proposed as an incentive to develop more sensitive analysis procedures.

In the Federal Republic of Germany the European Community's ceilings were adopted as national legal limits on 22 May 1986.

Analysis techniques not yet having been updated, the new limits were not to come into force for another three years, the deadline for their introduction being 1 October 1989.

Analysis techniques have since been devised for nearly all relevant pesticides, and research chemists and laboratory assistants have grown accustomed to what are highly sensitive procedures.

These new techniques have shown many analysis findings reported in years gone by to have been either too high or totally wrong.

It is not true, as initially feared, that all German drinking-water contains different counts of all manner of pesticides.

The latest information is that roughly nine out of 10 water boards in the Federal Republic supply mains water with tolerable pesticide counts.

The remaining 10 per cent exceed the limits mainly for three to four specific pesticides of which Atrazine is the front runner.

In 1987 the World Health Organisation entered the fray. WHO experts endorsed the 1980 European Community ruling that no pesticide traces whatever ought to be found in drinking-water.

As soon as they were identified in drinking-water it was high time for farmers to undertake a critical reappraisal of their use of pesticides.

Unlike the European Commission, the WHO took the toxic effects of pesticides on humans into account and laid down ceilings for individual pesticides that as a rule were much higher than the European Community's 0.1 micrograms per litre.

The WHO ceiling for Atrazine, for instance, is twenty times higher than the level adopted by the European Community.

In the wake of the 1987 WHO rulings many countries have increasingly been guided by the criteria of human toxicology, i.e. the human health hazard.

Since 1988 neighbouring Austria, for instance, has had an Atrazine ceiling of two micrograms per litre, while the Yugoslav limit is five micrograms.

The US Environmental Protection Agency specifies an upper limit of three *micrograms* of Atrazine per litre of drinking-water, while views within the European Community have long ceased to tally.

Italy broke ranks in 1986 and laid down an Atrazine ceiling of one microgram per litre; it was increased to 1.7 micrograms in 1987. The British ceiling is a horse-and-cart 30 micrograms per litre!

Germany in contrast plans to stick to the European Community specifications. Proposals have been drawn up, including modernisation of waterworks that fail to measure up to these exacting standards.

Initial modernisation measures have already been undertaken. The *Länder* are designating larger areas of land as protected zones where, in accordance with 1988 regulations, the use of about 70 pesticides is prohibited.

As far as they can now tell, scientists say, pesticide counts in excess of the European Community guideline level but within the limits so far reported do not constitute a human health hazard.

Yet stricter regulations in zoned areas are always a sound precaution and the best means of ensuring that drinking-water stays fit to drink.

These precautions are still being costed.

A final point that must not be forgotten is that substances resulting from the processing of drinking-water and in daily industrial or domestic use are no less of a health hazard.

They include chloroform, tetrachlorcarbon and trichlorethylene, all of which have been classified as carcinogens.

Concentrations of up to 25 micrograms of chloroform and trichlorethylene and three micrograms of tetrachlorcarbon per litre of drinking-water are permitted.

Pesticides are, when all is said and done, only one of many problems faced by ground and drinking-water.

Manfred Häfner

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 May 1989)

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companies are run. "Linguistic and mentality barriers are broken down too," Professor Tümmers says.

Students are inevitably confronted with the history and sociology of the other country. Reutlingen EBS graduates' career prospects are "very good." They get to know prospective employers during their traineeships.

Cooperation between the four universities is not always plain sailing, says Professor Eva Marie Haberfellner, who coordinates courses.

Coordination of courses and examinations is a keynote of the programme. It is often the result of tough negotiations.

Different educational techniques need to be standardised to ensure that identical examinations can be held simultaneously at all four universities."

But expansion is planned. Reutlingen is on the lookout for colleges in other countries that might like to join the scheme.

Professor Haberfellner says negotiations with an Italian university in Lombardy have reached an advanced stage. Tentative contacts have been established with the East bloc too.

Ties with Eastern Europe consist mainly of a staff exchange scheme, mostly with Hungary. A joint research programme is run by Reutlingen and the University of Dresden in the GDR.

Veit Müller

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 20 May 1989)

■ HORIZONS

A young man in a hurry keeps a critical eye on the media



The competition is sleeping, says Sebastian Turner. (Photo: Anette Littmann)

High flyers are as rare among young journalists as among people in other jobs. If someone has flair and creativity in addition to intellect, and a sense of enterprise as well, he or she is liable to be a pace-setter.

Sebastian Turner, 22, is one such an exception. Publisher, journalist, advertising man and (still) student — yet he has neither the air of the smart yuppie about him nor the aura of the dynamic young businessman. He relies on experience and competence.

As a 14 year old in 1981 he and some fellow pupils as school in Stuttgart founded *Der Punkt* (The Point), which regularly won awards as the best school newspaper in Germany. In 1984 it was named as the best school newspaper by the German youth press umbrella organisation. Turner maintained his interest as his contemporaries found more interesting things to do like going to discos. He tossed around ideas and thought about articles and layouts. He explains: "Swabians (Swabia is in south-west Germany. Stuttgart is the main city) have a pathological sense of business and that has rubbed off on me." In 1984, after much intensive thought, he brought out *Stujour*, a magazine with a circulation of 20,000 that was distributed to 25 schools in the Stuttgart area. This type of inter-school publication was not allowed, according to *Land* education ministry regulations. But this didn't disturb Turner. He went ahead and ran provocative interviews with politicians with the aim of stirring reader interest.

Figures interviewed included the Premier of Baden-Württemberg, Lothar Späth; the leader of the Social Democrat Opposition in the Bonn Bundestag, *Hans-Jochen Vogel*; and a controversial professor of rhetoric, Walter Jens.

Turner's recipe for success: a professional layout without confusion; a varied approach to content with a tendency to lean towards the democratic: young writers with highly individualistic styles; and intelligent, probing interviews *with prominent* people. The formula was was popular among school pupils, but it did cause problems for panels charged with making awards. One panel member said that the paper was so professional that it "can't have been produced by students."

After Turner passed his *Abitur* (university entrance examination), he spent three months in various jobs, including advertising work, and then he went to do his national service.

It was while he was in the army that he got the idea for his new project, *Medium Magazin*, an independent journal aimed at young journalists from school magazine reporters and editors to beginners on newspapers.

Turner said the intention was to fill a gap in the market. He describes the material then available for young journalists as "bilge."

The first edition appeared on 1 April 1986. Turner, the founder, was also publisher, editor, layout artist, promotions chief, advertising manager and business manager.

Only people who know the industry can understand how much sweat went into producing the paper. He continued

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Dislikes the stink of petrol... aircraft builder Gustav Mesmer. (Photo: Veit Müller)

A magnificent man's not-quite flying machines

Gustav Mesmer, 86, builds musical instruments and aircraft. But he doesn't like noise and the stench of petrol, so his aircraft don't have engines.

He has managed to get off the ground in his contraptions — and crashed. And has come through relatively unscathed to be able to tell the tale. His machines either lift off and never get very far away from earth or they don't get off the ground at all. His umbrella helicopter, for example, and his double-kite flying bicycle, have never left terra firma.

In his workshop, the walls are covered in drawings and models. For hours on end he hammers and saws away until the old tins, wooden planks, plastic bags, mattress feathers and metres of wire taken on form and can be attached to a bicycle so he can go out and once more take up the fight against the forces of gravity.

He is of course not quite as dare-devil as he used to be, even if he does continue to make machines. He hasn't had an easy life. He was born in 1903 in the south German centre of Altshausen. Because of illness, he had to stop going to school after three years.

As an adult, he spent six years in a monastery, but had to give that up because of ill health. For years he lived in a home for the mentally ill until, in 1964, he was allowed to move into a home for the aged in Münsingen, Lautertal, south of Stuttgart.

It was after this move that he began his new life as a basket maker, instrument maker and, most significantly, as the builder of flying apparatus. He explains that he wants to be involved in aviation but not with noise and the stink of petrol, so his aircraft have to be powered by no more than muscle power.

Even if he hasn't managed so far to beat decisively the force of gravity, he has certainly caused sensation. The media, including TV, have covered his efforts.

His swinging-axel flying device and his kite bicycle have been put on display in Lausanne, Recklinghausen and Ulm. Mainly, it must be admitted, for their values as works of art rather than hall-of-fame aviation items.

Now his machines are being exhibited in Münsingen itself. The Icarus of Lautertal, as he has been called, (Icarus was furnished with wings by his father, Daedalus, according to Greek mythology) has got off the ground after all.

Veit Müller

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 27 May 1989)

He is a singer and cabaret artist, but he is also a doctor specialising in internal medicine.

Rock-singer doctor: sending them up or fixing them up

Dr med. Georg Ringsgwandl, 40, is regarded as one of the most individualistic interpreters of the signs of the age. He takes his ideas from what he sees in daily life and uses them in irreverent songs.

At nights he is on the rock stage. Every morning he is back on duty as the senior doctor at the intensive-care station of the hospital at Garmisch-Partenkirchen, in the Bavarian Alps.

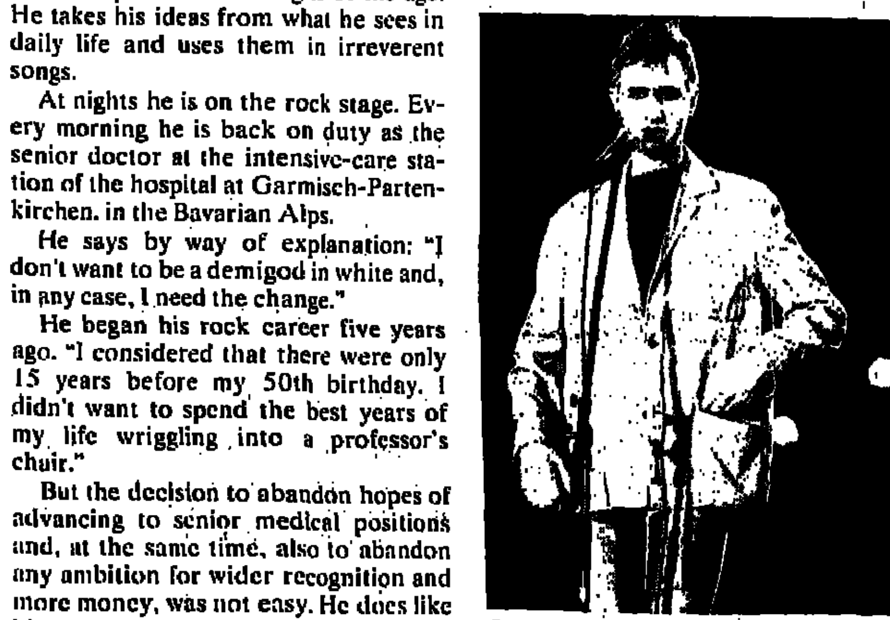
He says by way of explanation: "I don't want to be a demigod in white and, in any case, I need the change."

He began his rock career five years ago. "I considered that there were only 15 years before my 50th birthday. I didn't want to spend the best years of my life wriggling into a professor's chair."

But the decision to abandon hopes of advancing to senior medical positions and, at the same time, also to abandon any ambition for wider recognition and more money, was not easy. He does like his work as a doctor, which gives him scope to bring to bear both his talents and his personality.

On the stage, there is very little that he won't do. In his Bavarian dialect, he sets his sights on bourgeois values and, with an almost crazed style of delivery, takes his gag lines to their ultimate.

During his acts, he changes his roles — from the macho figure with sunglasses to an androgynous being with a scraggy body and swimming cap as decoration for the head.


Sometimes I don't know what I'm saying . . . Rockdoc Ringsgwandl. (Photo: teutopress)

He hijacks and distorts others' songs (Rod Stewart's "Do you think I'm sexy?") and rails against a certain CSU politician with various references to the ending of a career and double entendres connected with Aids and the politician's role as a minister with responsibility for certain areas of public health. Ringsgwandl is described on the posters as "greasy, bigoted, flipped out."

He is a master of the subtle change, running between the borders of the embarrassing and the saucy, between the *perverse and the polemic. Or as* Ringsgwandl himself puts it: "I ridicule people."

Even among people he knows, he is uninhibited and sends them up. Sometimes he overdoes it. At a private show before 100 people who were supposed to know him well, disaster struck.

The guests rose as one and left the hall. Ringsgwandl apologised, saying: "*Sometimes I get so involved that I don't* know any more what I am saying. Then I am not really accountable for my actions."

The entertainer-doctor was born into a Bavarian family of modest means. His father was a postman. It was clear that son Georg would have problems reconciling both sides of his life.

"If I sang in a church choir, every*thing would be much easier. But merely* because I go in for rock and cabaret, no one would ever forgive me if I made a mistake as a doctor."

Mathias Reichstein

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 15 May 1989)

■ FRONTIERS

Massive Ruhr redevelopment scheme draws boths approval and suspicion

The Ghermezians have plans to build a 610,000 square metre "world tourist center" to occupy a disused industrial site in the Ruhr city of Oberhausen. Who? Jacob Ghermezian, now 90, heads the family which is one of the biggest landowners in Canada. He migrated from Iran in the 1950s. One of their *successes is a shopping mall in Toronto* which is reputed to have the largest amount of shopping and leisure space under one roof anywhere in the world. The Social Democrat Oberhausen local government sees the plan as a chance of cutting unemployment — 14,500 jobs would be created, it is being said. But warnings have drifted across the Atlantic. One who has heard them is Christa Thoben, who is a Christian Democrat member of Opposition in the North Rhine-Westphalia *Land* assembly. She maintains that the Ghermezians want the state to take all the risks so they themselves can take all the profits. She doesn't trust them: "I wouldn't buy a secondhand car from them." Jürgen Zurheide reports for the *Hannoversche Allgemeine*.

Oberhausen's mayor, Friedhelm van den Mond, could only think about something out of a fairy-tale when he saw for the first time the Ghermezians' plans for the site once occupied by the steel firm, Thyssen.

He says he told his wife: "I believe that I am too old for things like this." The project is way beyond his wildest imaginings; *rather than* seeing it as the promise of a solution to one of Oberhausen's many problems, it was at first a source of worry.

But van den Mond and many other senior city officials who also had great doubts about the plans are now supporters of it.

The Ghermezians have presented him with plans for a "World Tourist Center" covering 610,000 square metres.

The plan includes department stores, a water park, ice stadium, hotel and conference centre as well as its own harbour on the Rhine-Herne Canal from which visitors can be brought by submarine to the heart of the centre built of glass, chrome and cement.

The project, part fair, part commercial enterprise, should *attract 25 million* visitors to Oberhausen per year. It would create 14,500 new jobs.

The city would solve its unemployment problem at a stroke, and to this could be added the advantages which would accrue during the building phase of the project which would cost about DM5bn.

The announcement of the plans for *this* project has had an electrifying effect in Oberhausen. The atmosphere in the city has changed completely.

Until the middle of last year, the city was blighted by big doubts because of the gloomy economic outlook; now the atmosphere is almost euphoric.

It has done the SPD, which is closely linked to the trades unions, a lot of good that an international organisation has knocked at the door and, in so doing, has underlined the city's attractive features.

The SPD had come to terms with its image; it has, in fact, strengthening the impression that they were true comrades still linked to the old, declining, industries.

Someone well acquainted with Oberhausen's affairs has told how senior officials attitudes changed after they visited Edmonton to see for themselves.

There they were able to visit the smaller example of super department stores: the Ghermezians have been able to get the Edmonton Mall into the Guinness Book of Records, because nowhere else in the world are so many shops and leisure facilities collected together under one roof.

Van den Mond slept in a hotel room with discreet pink lighting, the bed the platform of a truck, painted in a colour that suited the lighting. His colleagues felt they had really been set down in One Thousand and One Nights, for in their rooms the bath was larger than the bed.

The promoters spoke of a "leisure geared to new experiences;" more sensitive people would talk of poor taste.

The stories about the Ghermezians are fabulous, including fast cars, beautiful women and golden taps in the bathroom. It is not really surprising that the family has been so successful. They made their first million in the carpet trade in Iran.

In the mid-1950s, Jacob Ghermezian, now 90, the head of the family, emigrated to Canada and soon the million had been increased many times over — the family is one of the largest owners of real estate in Canada.

Naturally there are those who say that all was not above board in this rapid rise of the family. There has been talk of blackmail, problems with money, and that the old projects have to be re-financed by new ones.

It is said that those who cannot understand the advantages of the Edmonton Mall straight away are helped to do so, firstly with bribes then with tangible threats.

Astonishingly, however, even the business people in Edmonton speak well of the Ghermezians, people whose life was made difficult by the Mall.

The former mayor of Edmonton, Laurence Decore, has warned civic officials in Oberhausen that the Ghermezians would have followed him right into the bathroom when they wanted something. He said: "They do not accept the word 'No' as an answer."

Bearing this in mind the catalogue of demands the Ghermezians have sent to the North Rhine-Westphalia Economic Affairs Minister, Reimut Jochimsen, take on a special significance.

Anyone who has heard of the negotiating sophistication of the former carpet dealer family must fear for the principles of the free market economy.

The Ghermezians want the site, free of all old debts; furthermore the state should reduce interest rates to four per cent, exempt the site from land tax, establish a railway link to the site, grant them a gambling licence and do without usual revenues.

The case is quite clear for Christa Thoben, spokeswoman on economic affairs for the CDU opposition in the North Rhine-Westphalia Parliament. She said that the Ghermezians wanted the state to take all the risks while they pulled in the profits.

The SPD state government has so far found it difficult to comment on the situation.

Behind the scenes the Ghermezians' conditions are rejected out of hand, but officially the project is spoken of differently.

In a rather stilted way Reimut Jochemsen has written to Raphael Ghermezian that the requirements he has made "cannot be fulfilled in the form they have been presented."

It is well known that for Raphael Ghermezian tough refusals are just an invitation.

Jochimsen should not be surprised for one minute at the preferential treatment the Ghermezians have received in the Düsseldorf Economic Affairs Ministry.

Ghermezian or his advisers have been told how to nurture the political landscape in North Rhine-Westphalia: one collects together the journalists who have contacts with the Economic Affairs Ministry's press office for a background briefing, and eventually the Ghermezians were allowed to give a presentation of their business concept to the members of the state Parliament, the mayor and to civil servants on their home ground.

That was obviously too much, for since this concept was made known the atmosphere in the state has changed, opposition to the project costing billions has increased.

At first only retail trade associations and chambers of commerce in the neighbouring cities were critical of the World Tourist Center project, out of self-interest.

These critics have been joined by those who formerly were in favour of the project, for example the North Rhine-Westphalia Environmental Protection Minister, Klaus Matthiesen, the strong man in Prime Minister Johannes Rau's cabinet.

Herr Matthiesen was like Reimut Jochimsen in Canada and gave the Ghermezians advice on the Oberhausen project. He suggested a congress centre attached to a hotel, entertainment of international rank and expensive shops; "Liza Minnelli in Oberhausen plus shopping."

But the concept presented for Oberhausen is simply a copy of Edmonton. The Ghermezians have not once bothered to take into consideration the European dimension.

Matthiesen predicts that there is no majority in the cabinet for the project in its present form.

Experts are currently examining the concept and have found any number of inconsistancies. Top of these is the figure of 25 million visitors annually, which seems to be quite arbitrary.

This would mean that every citizen in Oberhausen would visit the World Tourist Center 12 times a year, two-thirds of the visitors would come from within a radius of 30 kilometres — this would mean just transferring purchasing power.

The experts believe that the Ghermezians have calculated backwards: to be economically viable the project needs 25 million visitors. Beginning with this figure the people in Canada have reckoned where the visitors could come from.

The burden on traffic systems would be enormous. Most would travel to Oberhausen in their own cars and clog up even the new motorways.

If there were 75,000 visitors per day the tail-backs in the Rhur would be considerably lengthened.

The government in North Rhine-Westphalia will make its first decision during the summer, and as things are at the present this can only be a rejection of the project. Unusually the state government is getting support from the opposition FDP and CDU.

"It would be a waste of tax-payers' money," said Achim Rohde, FDP parliamentary leader, and points out that the Oberhausen project would be the death sentence for many retailers in the neighbouring cities.

Christa Thoben went a step further. She said that the Ghermezians were fishy. "I would not buy a second-hand car from them."

Jürgen Zurheide

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 May 1989)

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his work as publisher at first from the Bonn Defence Ministry's Press Office, where he was doing his national service. After his discharge, he managed to study politics, history and business administration.

Here he was also an achiever: he needed only four semesters instead of the usual eight. In the meantime, he has spent time as a student assistant at a Bonn seminar for political science and as a free-lance copywriter at a well-known Stuttgart advertising agency.

He also worked as a casual journalist for newspapers and magazines and had an interview column in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung colour magazine.

But despite all this activity, he never neglected *Medium Magazin*. It continued to appear regularly every quarter with a print run of 5,000.

He had distributed the first edition without charge to school magazines as well as to 1,300 daily and weekly publications. The subscription list is growing all the time; 2,800 subscribers are now paying the 20 marks a year for the four copies a year.

In adition, Turner is now producing an auxiliary newsletter which appears in between editions so that, subscribers receive a publication every six weeks instead of three months.

There are established publication in the media field. *Der Journalist* is produced by the journalists union. Turner says this publication's staff "are deep in sleep." Another is *die Feder* (The Feather), put out by the journalists' union together with the union IG Medien.

Turner, whose father was a university vice-chancellor (president), has gone for the room between the journalists on the one side and the functionaries on the other.

Medium Magazine looks closely at the ways political foundations and associations select journalists to support; individual aspects of journalism are critically analysed. Faults in the profession are exposed. Media gossip is reported, which is always good for raising reader interest.

The reader is given a certain malicious pleasure in a column by Wolfgang Schneider, a relentless critic of style, who is also the head of the journalist school run by the Hamburg publishing firm of Gruner + Jahr.

In the third year of its existence the magazine has found its niche and successfully competing with the established papers in the field. And it has not lost any of its bite. Turner says that it will stay that way.

And what will he do as a career? He says only that whatever he does, it will "have something to do with the media."

Lutz Kuche

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 12 May 1989)